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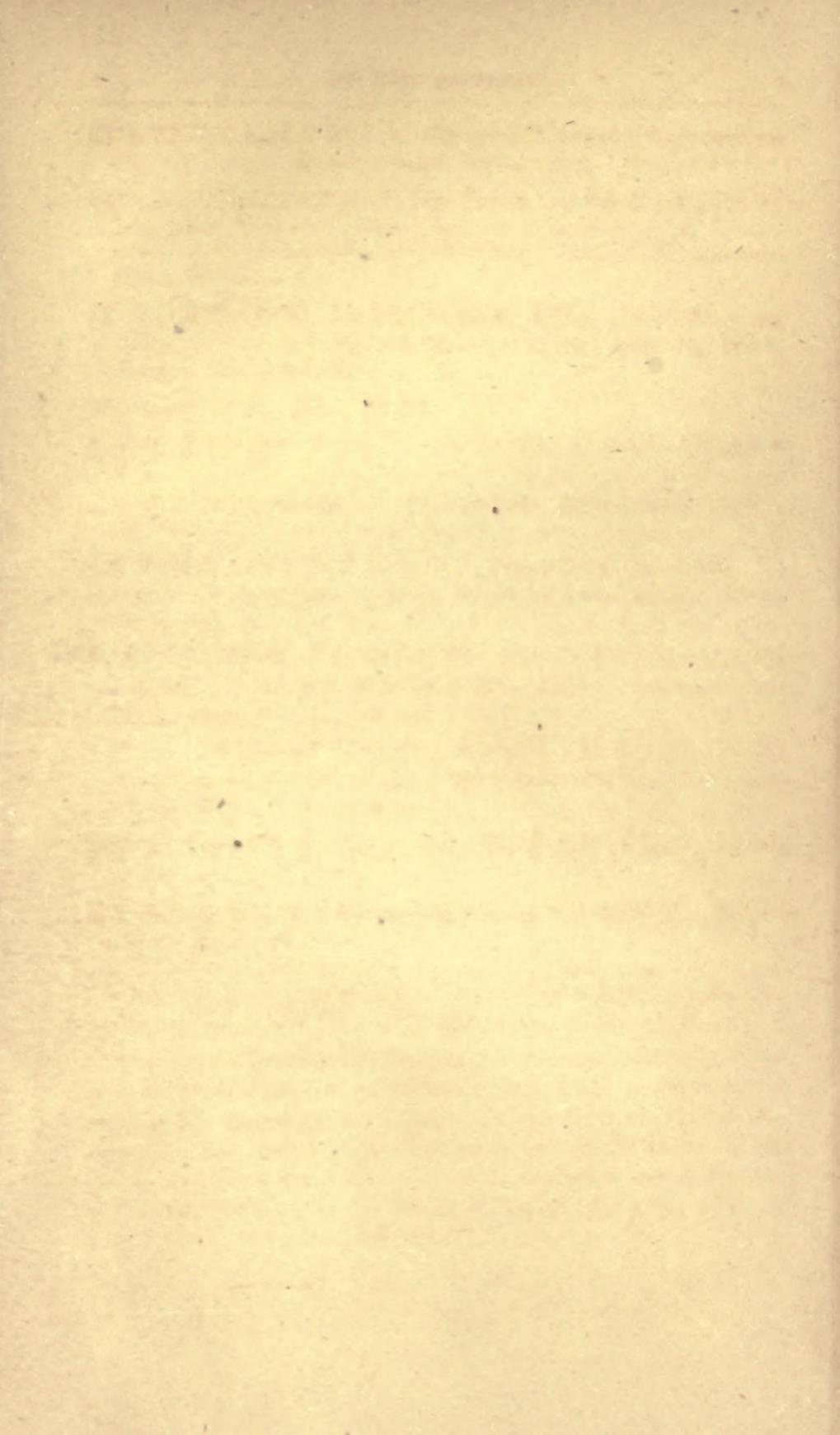
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* Mr. Ticknor, in his History of Spanish Literature, recently published, Vol. II , p. 205, says, in speaking of the Estrella de Sevilla,— “Old copies of this play are excessively scarce, and I obtained, therefore, many years ago, a manuscript of it, from which it was reprinted twice in this country by Mr. F. Sales,— a curious fact in Spanish bibliography, and one that should be mentioned to the honor of Mr. Sales, whose various publications have done much to spread the love of Spanish literature in the United States, and to whom I am indebted for my first knowledge of it.”



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ORATION

LESSONS ON THE GOSPEL

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O R A T I O N

OF

ÆSCHINES ON THE CROWN.

THE
ORATION
OF
AESCHINES AGAINST CTESIPHON.

WITH NOTES.

By J. T. CHAMPLIN,

PROFESSOR OF GREEK AND LATIN IN WATERVILLE COLLEGE.



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ELIOT PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY,

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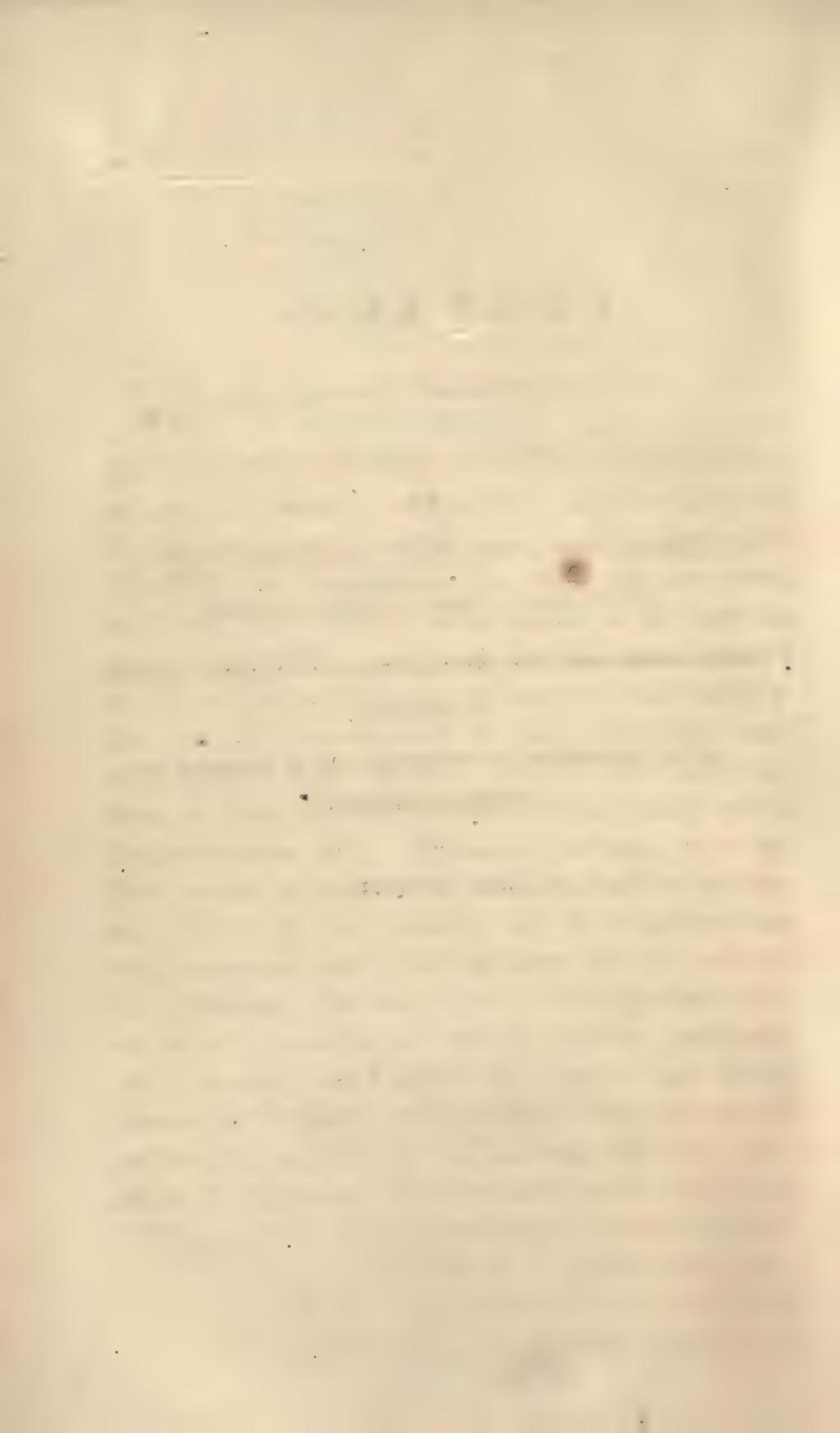
CONGENIAL STUDIES,

BY

THE EDITOR.

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P R E F A C E.

IN bringing before the public the productions of the rival orators, in this most famous contest for the crown, I have not followed the chronological order, but the order of preëminence and demand, so that, as in many other things, “the last has become first, and the first last.” While the name of Æschines has undoubtedly been ennobled by its association with that of Demosthenes, in this and the other contests left on record, at the same time he has unavoidably suffered from so close proximity to a superior luminary. The acknowledged position of Demosthenes as the first of orators, and the reputation of his Oration on the Crown as the first of his orations, have cast into comparative obscurity the scarcely less able production of Æschines, and led to the inconsistency, in nearly all of our colleges, of reading the defence without having previously read the attack. In accordance with this practice of our colleges (a practice, to be sure, inconsistent in itself, but which, I think, no wise teacher would recommend to be generally abandoned, unless both the Orations can be read), the Oration of Demosthenes was first published, and is now followed by that of Æschines.

The two Orations, though not intended necessarily to be bound together, have been edited with mutual reference to each other, and with the same general object in view. The aim, in each case, has been, to give a plain and unpretending exposition of the sentiments of the author, based upon philological principles, and illustrated by the requisite historical and archæological information. It has not, however, been attempted to do this in an exhaustive way, so as to leave no difficulties to be overcome by the student, but sufficiently to encourage effort, and furnish the means of success to the diligent and persevering. To what has sometimes been called "the higher criticism," such as is displayed in ingenious interpretations, bold conjectures, and happy emendations, this book makes but little pretension. The editor will be satisfied, if it shall be thought to contain a fair amount of common sense, guided by a competent knowledge of the Greek language in interpreting the thoughts of a great orator, who lived more than two thousand years ago, and bringing them into connection with thoughts and things as they now are. The classics are too often read, as some tale of a far-off, enchanted land, beautiful and entertaining, to be sure, but having no possible connection with what is now passing on the earth. Happily, the tendency of the labors of recent editors has been to dispel this illusion, by exhibiting them as a field of useful, as well as of entertaining study, — by treating them as productions of the human mind in its various workings, — thus attaching them to human

nature and making them reflect it under some of its most interesting aspects. All honor to the men who, like Boeckh in Germany, and Arnold in England, have contributed to bring about this change !

This Oration is one of three which have been left by Æschines. They have been denominated "the three Graces," of which, undoubtedly, this is the crowning Grace. They were all made against Demosthenes, one directly in self-defence, in a prosecution for corrupt conduct on his embassy to Philip, and the others through third persons, Timarchus and Ctesiphon. Coming to a rupture on their second embassy to Philip, the two orators took directly opposite sides in the subsequent struggle with that crafty monarch, the one vehemently urging resistance to his encroachments, the other conciliation, if not submission. Their differences came out, in the report of their proceedings made before the Assembly on their return from the embassy, and, about three years afterwards, on occasion of Æschines passing the usual examination before the court for his conduct on the embassy, were fully discussed, first in the preliminary trial of Timarchus, and then of Æschines himself, and finally reached their highest intensity and most indignant expression in this action against Ctesiphon. In this closing struggle, therefore, of the two orators, we have, at the same time, the best specimen of their individual power and relative strength. In gracefulness of style and cogency of logic, Æschines is fully equal to his rival ; but his words are far

less solemn and elevated, and his logic works by dryer formulæ, and within much narrower limits. With almost every quality of style deemed desirable in an orator, we yet miss the convincing earnestness, the fiery energy, as well as the magnificent sweep and flow of Demosthenes. Consequently, he is more trivial, more extravagant, more personal, than his antagonist. There is a vein of extravagance which runs through many of his expressions and statements, which greatly injures the effect of the Oration, while I know of nothing in which it suffers so much, in comparison with the production of his rival, as in the more exclusively personal character which it wears. Demosthenes, it is true, exhibits personal feeling towards *Æschines*, and, speaking in self-defence, is necessarily somewhat egotistical ; but, as Mr. Legare* has well said of his masterly production, “ It is the grandest piece of egotism on record. Yet is the subject so dexterously, or rather so simply, so sincerely, so sublimely managed, that you forget the orator in the statesman, the statesman in the patriot, the patriot in his country, which seems to have engrossed, penetrated, transformed, and elevated his whole being.”

As to the merits of the main question at issue between the two orators, — the integrity and policy of the course which they had respectively pursued towards Philip, — it is difficult positively to decide.

* “ Demosthenes, the Man, the Statesman, and the Orator,” Writings, Vol. II. p. 481.

It is possible that the policy of Æschines, which was at the same time the policy of a large party, at whose head stood the accomplished Isocrates and the stern and incorruptible Phocion, was dictated by a real though mistaken regard for the interests of his country, supposing that conciliation would be more effectual than resistance. But, considering all the known facts of the case,—the sudden change of his feelings towards Philip after the first embassy, his subsequent connection with the Macedonian party, through all the course of Philip's aggressions, even to the downfall of his country, and many other suspicious circumstances urged by Demosthenes in his reply and the Oration on the False Legation,—it can hardly be doubted that there was something criminal in his connection with Philip. That his course was unpatriotic is involved in the very nature of the case, since he sided with the conqueror of his country. And though we need not believe him to have been, what the rival orators mutually charge each other with being, the guilty cause of all the evils of his country,—*ο τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριος*,—still his name must always rest under some suspicion.

It now only remains for me to say, that the text of this edition is that of W. Dindorf, with such slight alterations as seemed to be required alike by the sense and manuscript authority. I have constantly consulted the edition of Bremi, as well as the collection of Notes, Scholia, and Various Readings, contained in Dobson's edition of the Attic Orators, and adopted from them whatever seemed to my

purpose. Thankful for the encouragement and assistance of many valued friends, both in the present and previous editorial labors, and assured by the favor with which those labors have thus far been received, I venture to add this little volume to those already before the public.

WATERVILLE COLLEGE, *January, 1850.*



ΑΙΣΧΙΝΟΤ

Ο ΚΑΤΑ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ.

Τὴν μὲν παρασκευὴν ὄράτε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν παράταξιν, ὅση γεγένηται, καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν δεήσεις, αἵς κέχρηνται τὸνες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ συνήθη μὴ γίγνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει· ἐγὼ δὲ πεπιστευκὼς ἦκω πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς, δεύτερον δὲ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν, ἥγονύμενος οὐδεμίαν παρασκευὴν μεῖζον ἵσχυειν παρ’ ὑμῖν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαίων. Ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν βουλήν, τοὺς πεντακοσίους, καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ὄρθως διοικεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς νόμους οὓς ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Σόλων πέρὶ τῆς τῶν ῥητόρων εὐκοσμίας ἵσχυειν, ἵνα ἔξῃ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ πρεσβυτάρῳ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὥσπερ 54 οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι, σωφρόνως ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρελθόντι ἄνευ θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς ἐξ ἐμπειρίας τὰ βέλτιστα τῇ πόλει συμβουλεύειν, δεύτερον δ’ ἥδη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν τὸν βουλόμενον καθ’ ἡλικίαν χωρὶς καὶ ἐν μέρει περὶ ἕκαστου γνῶμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ ἢ τε πόλις ἄριστα διοικεῖσθαι αἴ τε κρίσεις ἐλάχισται γίγνεσθαι.

3 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντα τὰ πρότερον ὡμολογημένα καλῶς
 ἔχειν νυνὶ καταλέλυται, καὶ γράφουσί τινες ῥᾳδίως πα-
 ρανόμους γνώμας, καὶ ταῦθ' ἔτεροί τινες τὰ ψηφίσματα
 ἐπιψηφίζουσιν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου τρόπου λαχόντες
 προεδρεύειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς καθεξόμενοι, εὖν δέ τις
 τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν ὅντως λάχη κληρούμενος προε-
 δρεύειν καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας χειροτονίας ὄρθως ἀναγορεύῃ,
 τοῦτον οἱ τὴν πολιτείαν οὐκέτι κοινήν, ἀλλ' ἴδιαν αὐτῶν
 ἡγούμενοι εἶναι ἀπειλοῦσιν εἰσαγγέλλειν, καταδουλού-
 μενοι τοὺς ἴδιώτας καὶ δυναστείας ἑαυτοῖς περιποιοῦντες,
 4 καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καταλελύκασι,
 τὰς δ' ἐκ τῶν ψηφισμάτων μετ' ὄργης κρίνουσιν, σεσί-
 γηται μὲν τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ σωφρονέστατον κήρυγμα
 τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει Τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν
 ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων καὶ πάλιν
 ἐν μέρει τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων, τῆς δὲ τῶν ῥη-
 τόρων ἀκοσμίας οὐκέτι κρατεῖν δύνανται οὕθ' οἱ νόμοι
 οὕθ' οἱ πρυτάνεις οὕθ' οἱ πρόεδροι οὕθ' ἡ προεδρεύουσα
 φυλή, τὸ δέκατον μέρος τῆς πόλεως.

5 Τούτων δ' ἔχόντων οὔτως, καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ὅντων τῇ
 πόλει τοιούτων ὅποιονς τινὰς αὐτοὺς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβά-
 νετε εἶναι, ἐν ὑπολείπεται μέρος τῆς πολιτείας (εἴ τι
 καγὰ τυγχάνω γιγνώσκων), αἱ τῶν παρανόμων γραφαί.
 Εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτας καταλύσετε ἡ τοῖς καταλύουσιν ἐπι-
 τρέψετε, προλέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι λήσετε κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς
 πολιτείας τισὶ παραχωρήσαντες. Εὖ γὰρ ἔστε, ὃ ἄν-
 δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶ πολιτεῖαι παρὰ πᾶσιν

ἀνθρώποις, τυραννὶς καὶ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ δημοκρατίᾳ, διοικοῦνται δ' αἱ μὲν τυραννίδες καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαι τοῖς τρόποις τῶν ἐφεστηκότων, αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ δημοκρατούμεναι τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς κειμένοις. Μηδεὶς οὖν ὑμῶν τοῦτ' ἀγνοείτω, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἔκαστος ἐπιστάσθω, ὅτι ὅταν εἰσήγη εἰς δικαστήριον γραφὴν παρανόμων δικάσων, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέλλει τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παρρήσιας. Διόπερ καὶ ὁ νομοθέτης τοῦτο πρῶτον ἔταξεν ἐν τῷ τῶν δικαστῶν ὅρκῳ, ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἐκεῦνό γε εὖ εἰδώς, ὅτι ὅταν διατηρηθῶσιν οἱ νόμοι τῇ πόλει, σώζεται καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία.

“Α χρὴ διαμνημονεύοντας ὑμᾶς μισεῖν τὸν τὰ παράνομα γράφοντας, καὶ μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι μικρὸν εἶναι τῶν τοιούτων ἀδικημάτων, ἀλλ' ἔκαστον ὑπερμέγεθες, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμῶν τὸ δίκαιον μηδένα ἀνθρώπων ἔξαιρεῖσθαι, μήτε τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν συνηγορίας, οὐδὲ πολὺν ἥδη χρόνον συνεργοῦντές τισι τῶν ῥητόρων λυμαίνονται τὴν πολιτείαν, μήτε τὰς τῶν ξένων δεήσεις, οὓς ἀναβιβαζόμενοί τινες ἐκφεύγουσιν ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων, παράνομον πολιτείαν πολιτευόμενοι· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀν ὑμῶν ἔκαστος αἰσχυνθείη τὴν τάξιν λιπεῖν ἥν ἀν ταχθῇ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, οὕτω καὶ νῦν αἰσχύνθητε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν ἥν τέταχθε ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων, φύλακες τῆς δημοκρατίας τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν. Κάκεινο δὲ χρὴ διαμνημονεύειν, ὅτι νῦν ἄπαντες οἱ πολῖται παρακαταθέμενοι τὴν πόλιν ὑμῖν καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν διαπιστεύσαντες οἱ μὲν πάρεισι καὶ

ἐπακούουσι τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως, οἱ δὲ ἅπεισιν ἐπὶ τῶν
ἰδίων ἔργων· οὓς αἰσχυνόμενοι, καὶ τῶν ὅρκων οὓς ὡμό-
σατε μεμημένοι καὶ τῶν νόμων, ἐὰν ἐξελέγξωμεν
Κτησιφῶντα καὶ παράνομα γράψαντα καὶ ψευδῆ καὶ
ἀσύμφορα τῇ πόλει, λύετε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς πα-
ρανόμους γνώμας, βεβαιοῦτε τῇ πόλει τὴν δημοκρα-
τίαν, κολάζετε τοὺς ὑπεναντίους τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ
πόλει καὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολιτευομένους.
Καν ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν διάνοιαν ἀκούητε τῶν μελ- 55
λόντων ῥήθησεσθαι λόγων, εὖ οὖδ' ὅτι δίκαια καὶ εὔορκα
καὶ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ψηφιεῖσθε καὶ πάσῃ τῇ
πόλει.

9 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ὅλης κατηγορίας μετρίως μοι ἐλπί-
ζω προειρήσθαι· περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων δὲ κείνται
περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων, παρ' οὓς τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο
τυγχάνει γεγραφὼς Κτησιφῶν, διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν
βούλομαι. Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἀρχοντές
τινες τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς προσόδους διοικοῦν-
τες, καὶ δωροδοκοῦντες περὶ ἔκαστα τούτων, προσλαμ-
βάνοντες τούς τε ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ρήτορας καὶ τοὺς
ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πόρρωθεν προκατελάμβανον τὰς εὐθύνας
ἐπαίνοις καὶ κηρύγμασιν, ὥστ' ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις τῶν
ἀρχῶν εἰς τὴν μεγίστην μὲν ἀπορίαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι τοὺς
10 κατηγόρους, πολὺ δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον τοὺς δικαστάς. Πολ-
λοὶ γὰρ πάνυ τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ κλέπται
τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ὅντες ἐξελεγχόμενοι διεφύγγα-
νον ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων, εἰκότως· ἡσχύνοντο γάρ, οἶμαι,

οἱ δικασταὶ, εἰ φανήσεται ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, πρώην μέν ποτε ἀναγορευόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὅτι στεφανοῦται ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ἔξεισιν ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου κλοπῆς ἔνεκα τὰς εὐθύνας ὡφληκώς· ὥστε ἡναγκάζοντο τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν οἱ δικασταὶ οὐ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀδικήματος, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰσχύνης τοῦ δήμου.

Κατιδὼν δέ τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον καὶ ¹¹ μάλα καλῶς ἔχοντα, τὸν διαρρόήδην ἀπαγορεύοντα τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν. Καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως εὖ προκατειληφότος τοῦ νομοθέτου εὑρηνται λόγοι κρείττους τῶν νόμων, οὓς εὶ μή τις ὑμῖν ἔρει, λήσετε ἔξαπατηθέντες. Τούτων γάρ τινες τῶν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους στεφανούντων παρὰ τοὺς νόμους οἱ μὲν φύσει μέτριοί εἰσιν (εὶ δή τις ἔστι μέτριος τῶν τὰ παράνομα γραφόντων), ἀλλ’ οὖν προβάλλονται γέ τι πρὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης. Προσεγγράφουσι γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ψηφίσματα στεφανοῦν τὸν ὑπεύθυνον, ἐπειδὴν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας τῆς ἀρχῆς δῷ. Καὶ ἡ μὲν πόλις τὸ ἵσον ἀδίκημα ἀδι- ¹² κεῖται (προκαταλαμβάνονται γὰρ ἐπαίνοις καὶ στεφάνοις αἱ εὐθύναι), ὁ δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα γράφων ἐνδείκνυται τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὅτι γέγραφε μὲν παράνομα, αἰσχύνεται δὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἡμάρτηκε. Κτησιφῶν δέ, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπερπηδήσας τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων κείμενον, καὶ τὴν πρόφασιν ἦν ἐγὼ ἀρτίως προεῖπον ὑμῖν

ἀνελῶν, πρὶν λόγου, πρὶν εὐθύνας δοῦναι, γέγραφε μεταξὺ Δημοσθένην ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν.

13 Λέξουσι δέ, ὡς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἔτερόν τινα λόγου ὑπεναντίον τῷ ἀρτίως εἰρημένῳ, ὡς ἄρα ὅσα τις αἱρετὸς ὥν πράττει κατὰ ψήφισμα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀρχή, ἀλλ ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διακονία· ἀρχὰς δὲ φήσουσιν ἐκείνας εἶναι ἂς οἱ θεσμοθέται ἀποκληροῦσιν ἐν τῷ Θησείῳ, κάκείνας ἂς ὁ δῆμος εἴωθε χειροτονεῖν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις, στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἵππάρχους καὶ τὰς μετὰ τούτων ἀρχὰς, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα πραγματείας προστείας ταγμένας κατὰ ψήφισμα. Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τούτων νόμον ὑμέτερον παρέξομαι, διν ὑμεῖς ἐνομοθετήσατε λύσειν ἡγούμενοι τὰς τοιαύτας προφάσεις, ἐν φῷ διαρρήδην γέγραπται, τὰς χειροτονητάς, φησι, ἀρχὰς (ἀπύστας ἐνὶ περιλαβών ὄνόματι ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ προσειπὼν ἀρχὰς ἀπάστας εἶναι ἂς ὁ δῆμος χειροτονεῖ), καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας φησὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων (ἔστι δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιός, ἐπιστάτης τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἔργων) καὶ πάντας ὅσοι διαχειρίζονται τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πλέον ἢ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας, καὶ ὅσοι λαμβάνουσιν ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων (οἱ δὲ τῶν ἔργων ἐπισταταὶ πάντες ἡγεμονίᾳ χρῶνται δικαστηρίου). — τί τούτους κελεύει ποιεῖν; Οὐ διακονεῖν, ἀλλ ἄρχειν δοκιμασθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ (ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ κληρωταὶ ἀρχαὶ οὐκ ἀδοκίμαστοι, ἀλλὰ δοκιμασθεῖσαι ἄρχουσι), καὶ λόγου καὶ εὐθύνας ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τὸν γραμματέα καὶ

τοὺς λογιστάς, καθάπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχαῖς, κελεύει.
"Οτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, τοὺς νόμους ὑμῖν αὐτοὺς ἀναγνώσεται.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

"Οταν τοίνυν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἂς ὁ νομοθέτης ἀρ-¹⁶
χὰς ὄνομάζει, οὗτοι προσαγορεύωσι πραγματείας καὶ
ἐπιμελείας, ὑμέτερον ἔργον ἐστὶν ἀπομνημονεύειν καὶ
ἀντιτάπτειν τὸν νόμον πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀναίδειαν, καὶ
ὑποβάλλειν αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐ προσδέχεσθε κακούργον σο-
φιστὴν οἰόμενον ρήμασι τοὺς νόμους ἀναιρήσειν, ἀλλ’
ὅσῳ ἂν τις ἀμεινον λέγῃ παράνομα γεγραφώς, τοσούτῳ
μεῖζονος ὀργῆς τεύξεται. Χρὴ γάρ, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
τὸ αὐτὸ φθέγγεσθαι τὸν ρήτορα καὶ τὸν νόμον. ὅταν δὲ
ἔτέραν μὲν φωνὴν ἀφιῇ ὁ νόμος, ἔτέραν δὲ ὁ ρήτωρ, τῷ
τοῦ νόμου δικαιῷ χρὴ διδόναι τὴν ψῆφον, οὐ τῇ τοῦ
λέγοντος ἀναισχυντίᾳ.

Πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸν ἄφυκτον λόγον, ὃν φησι Δημοσθένης,¹⁷
βραχέα βούλομαι προειπεῖν. Λεέξει γὰρ οὗτος, τειχο-
ποιός εἰμι· ὁμολογῶ· ἀλλ’ ἐπιδέδωκα τῇ
πόλει μνᾶς ἕκατὸν καὶ τὸ ἔργον μεῖζον ἐξείρ-
γασμαί. Τίνος οὖν εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος, εἰ μή τίς
ἐστιν εὔνοιας εὐθύνη; Πρὸς δὴ ταύτην τὴν πρό-
φασιν ἀκούσατέ μου λεγοντος καὶ δίκαια καὶ ὑμῖν συμ-
φέροντα. Ἐν γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἀρχαίᾳ οὕσῃ
καὶ τηλικαύτῃ τὸ μέγεθος οὐδείς ἐστιν ἀνυπεύθυνος τῶν
καὶ ὀπωσοῦν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσεληλυθότων. Διδάξω¹⁸
δὲ ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων, οἷον τοὺς Ἱερεῖς καὶ

τὰς ἱερείας ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, καὶ σὺλλή-
βδην ἄπαντας καὶ χωρὶς ἑκάστους κατὰ σῶμα, τοὺς τὰ
γέρα μόνον λαμβάνοντας καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πρὸς
τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχομένους, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἴδιᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ
κοινῇ τὰ γένη, Εὔμολποῖδας καὶ κῆρυκας καὶ τοὺς ἄλ-
19 λους ἄπαντας. Πάλιν τοὺς τριηράρχους ὑπευθύνους
εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος οὐ τὰ κοινὰ διαχειρίσαντας οὐδὲ
ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων προσόδων πολλὰ μὲν ὑφαιρουμένους,
βραχέα δὲ κατατιθέντας, ἐπιδιδόνται δὲ φάσκοντας, ἀπο-
διδόντας δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα, ἀλλ᾽ ὅμολογουμένως τὰς
πατρῷας οὐσίας εἰς τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀνηλωκότας φι-
λοτιμίαν.

Οὐ τοίνυν μόνοι οἱ τριήραρχοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα
τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει συνεδρίων ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν δικαστηρίων
20 ἔρχεται ψῆφον. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἐν
'Αρείῳ πάγῳ ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς ὁ νόμος
κελεύει λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας διδόναι, καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ σκυ-
θρωπὸν καὶ τῶν μεγίστων κυρίαν ἄγει ὑπὸ τὴν ὑμετέραν
ψῆφον. Οὐκ ἄρα στεφανωθήσεται ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἔξ
'Αρείου πάγου; Οὐδὲ γὰρ πάτριόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς. Οὐκ
ἄρα φιλοτιμοῦνται; Πάνυ γε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγαπῶσιν ἐάν
τις παρ' αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀδικῇ, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις ἔξαμαρτάνῃ κο-
λάζουσιν· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι ρήτορες τρυφῶσι. Πάλιν τὴν
βουλὴν, τοὺς πεντακοσίους, ὑπεύθυνον πεποίηκεν ὁ νο-
21 μοθέτης. Καὶ οὕτως ἵσχυρῶς ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις
ῶστ' εὐθέως ἀρχόμενος τῶν νόμων λέγει ἀρχὴν ὑπεύ-
θυνόν φησι μὴ ἀποδημεῖν. ⁷Ω 'Ηράκλεις (ὑπο-

λάβοι ἀν τις), ὅτι ἡρξα, μὴ ἀποδημήσω; "Ινα γε μὴ προλαβὼν χρήματα τῆς πόλεως ἢ πράξεις δρασμῷ χρήσῃ. Πάλιν ὑπεύθυνον οὐκ ἔἁ τὴν οὐσίαν καθιεροῦν οὐδὲ ἀνάθημα ἀναθεῖναι οὐδ' ἐκποίητον γενέσθαι οὐδὲ διαθέσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ οὐδ' ἄλλα πολλά· ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ ἐνεχυράζει τὰς οὐσίας ὁ νομοθέτης τὰς τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ἔως ἀν λόγου ἀποδῶσι τῇ πόλει. Ναί, ἀλλ' ἔστι τις 22 ἀνθρωπος ὃς οὐτ' εἴληφεν οὐδὲν τῶν δημοσίων οὐτ' ἀνήλωκε, προσῆλθε δὲ πρὸς τι τῶν κοινῶν. Καὶ τοῦτον ἀποφέρειν κελεύει λόγον πρὸς τοὺς λογιστάς. Καὶ 57 πῶς ὃ γε μηδὲν λαβὼν μηδ' ἀναλώσας ἀποίσει λόγον τῇ πόλει; Αὐτὸς ὑποβάλλει καὶ διδάσκει ὁ νόμος ἂν χρῆ γράφειν· κελεύει γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐγγράφειν, ὅτι οὐτ' ἔλαβον οὐδὲν τῶν τῆς πόλεως οὐτ' ἀνήλωσα. Ἀνεύθυνον δὲ καὶ ἀξήτητον καὶ ἀνεξέταστον οὐδέν 23 ἔστι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. "Οτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε τῶν νόμων.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

"Οταν τοίνυν μάλιστα θρασύνηται Δημοσθένης λέγων 23 ώς διὰ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπεύθυνος, ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε, οὕκουν ἔχρην σε, ὡς Δημόσθενες, ἔασαι τὸν τῶν λογιστῶν κήρυκα κηρῦξαι τὸ πάτριον καὶ ἔννομον κήρυγμα τοῦτο, Τίς βούλεται κατηγορεῖν; "Εασον ἀμφισβητῆσαι σοι τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν πολιτῶν ώς οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὡν ἔχεις εἰς τὴν τῶν τειχῶν σικοδομίαν μικρὰ κατέθηκας, δέκα τάλαντα εἰς

ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰληφώς. Μὴ ἄρπαξε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, μηδὲ ἔξαιροῦ τῶν δικαστῶν τὰς ψήφους ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, μηδ’ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ’ ὕστερος πολιτεύου. Ταῦτα γὰρ ὄρθοι τὴν δημοκρατίαν.

21 Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰς κενὰς προφάσεις, ἃς οὗτοι προφασιοῦνται, μέχρι δεῦρο εἰρήσθω μοι· ὅτι δὲ ὅντως ἦν ὑπεύθυνος ὁ Δημοσθένης ὅθ’ οὗτος εἰσήνεγκε τὸ ψήφισμα, ἄρχων μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ἀρχῆν, ἄρχων δὲ τὴν τῶν τειχοποιῶν, οὐδετέρας δέ πω τῶν ἀρχῶν τούτων λόγον ὑμῖν οὐδ’ εὐθύνας δεδωκώς, ταῦτ’ ἥδη πειράσομαι ὑμᾶς διδάσκειν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων. Καί μοι ἀνάγνωθι ἐπὶ τίνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ποίου μηνὸς καὶ ἐν τίνι ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐχειροτονήθη Δημοσθένης τὴν ἀρχῆν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ.

ΔΙΑΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ.

Οὐκοῦν εὶ μηδὲν ἔτι περαιτέρω τούτου δείξαιμι, δικαίως ἀν ἀλίσκοιτο Κτησιφῶν· αἱρεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐχ ἡ κατηγορία ἡ ἐμή, ἀλλὰ τὰ δημόσια γράμματα.

25 Πρότερον μὲν τοίνυν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντιγραφεὺς ἦν χειροτονητὸς τῇ πόλει, ὃς καθ’ ἐκάστην πρυτανείαν ἀπελογίζετο τὰς προσόδους τῷ δήμῳ· διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς Εὔβουλον γενομένην πίστιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν κεχειροτονημένοι ἥρχον μὲν πρὶν ἡ τὸν Ἡγήμονος νόμον γενέσθαι τὴν τοῦ ἀντιγραφέως ἀρχῆν, ἥρχον δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποδεκτῶν καὶ νεωρίων ἀρχῆν, καὶ σκευοθήκην ὀκοδόμουν, ἥσαν δὲ καὶ ὁδοποιοὶ καὶ σχεδὸν τὴν δλην

διοίκησιν εἶχον τῆς πόλεως. Καὶ οὐ κατηγορῶν αὐτῶν ²⁶ οὐδὲ ἐπιτιμῶν λέγω, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο ὑμῖν ἐνδείξασθαι βούλομαι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης, ἐάν τις μιᾶς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐλαχίστης ὑπεύθυνος ἦ, τοῦτον οὐκ ἔἼ πρῦν ἀν λόγους καὶ εὐθύνας δῷ στεφανοῦν, ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν Δημοσθένην τὸν συλλήβδην ἀπάσας τὰς Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχὰς ἀρχοντα οὐκ ὕκνησε γράψαι στεφανῶσαι.

‘Ως τοίνυν καὶ τὴν τῶν τειχοποιῶν ἀρχὴν ἥρχεν ὅθ’ ²⁷ οὗτος τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραψε, καὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διεχείριζε καὶ ἐπιβολὰς ἐπέβαλλε καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀρχοντες, καὶ δικαστηρίων ἡγεμονίας ἐλάμβανε, τούτων ὑμῖν αὐτὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ Κτησιφῶντα μάρτυρας παρέξομαι. ’Επὶ γὰρ Χαιρώνδου ἀρχοντος Θαργηλιῶνος μηνὸς δευτέρᾳ φθίνοντος ἐκκλησίας οὖσης ἔγραψε ψήφισμα Δημοσθένης ἀγορὰν ποιῆσαι τῶν φυλῶν Σκιροφοριῶνος δευτέρᾳ ἵσταμένου καὶ τρίτῃ, καὶ ἐπέταξεν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι ἑκάστης τῶν φυλῶν ἐλέσθαι τοὺς ἐπιμεληθησομένους τῶν ἔργων ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ ταμίας, καὶ μάλα ὄρθως, ἵν’ ἡ πόλις ἔχοι ὑπεύθυνα σώματα, παρ’ ὃν ἔμελλε τῶν ἀνηλωμένων λόγον ἀπολήψεσθαι. Καὶ μοι λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ναί, ἀλλ’ ἀντιδιαπλέκει πρὸς τοῦτο εὐθὺς ὡς οὕτ’ ²⁸ ἔλαχε τειχοποιὸς οὕτ’ ἔχειροτονήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. Καὶ περὶ τούτου Δημοσθένης μὲν καὶ Κτησιφῶν πολὺν ποιήσονται λόγον· ὁ δέ γε νόμος βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς καὶ ταχὺ λύων τὰς τούτων τέχνας. Μικρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν

29 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρῶτον προειπεῖν βούλομαι. "Εστι γάρ, ⁵³ ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εἴδη τρία, ὧν ἐν μὲν καὶ πᾶσι φανερώτατον οἱ κληρωτοὶ καὶ οἱ χειροτονητοὶ ἄρχοντες, δεύτερον δὲ ὅσοι τι διαχειρίζουσι τῶν τῆς πόλεως ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ οἱ τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων ἐπιστάται· τρίτον δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται, καὶ εἰ τινες ἄλλοι αἱρετοὶ ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων λαμβάνουσι, καὶ τούτους ἄρχειν δοκιμασθέντας. 'Επειδὴν δ' ἀφέλη τις τους ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κεχειροτονημένους καὶ τοὺς κληρωτοὺς ἄρχοντας, καταλείπεται, οὓς αἱ φυλαὶ καὶ αἱ τριττύες καὶ οἱ δῆμοι ἐξ ἑαυτῶν αἱροῦνται τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διαχειρίζειν, τούτους αἱρετοὺς ἄρχοντας εἶναι. Τοῦτο δὲ γίγνεται ὅταν, ὥσπερ νῦν, ἐπιταχθῇ τι ταῖς φυλαῖς, ἢ τάφρους ἐξεργάζεσθαι ἢ τριήρεις ναυπηγεῖσθαι. "Οτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων μαθήσεσθε.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

31 'Αναμνήσθητε δὴ τοὺς προειρημένους λόγους, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης τοὺς ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν ἄρχειν κελεύει δοκιμασθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἡ δὲ Πανδιονὶς φυλὴ ἄρχοντα καὶ τειχοποιὸν ἀπέδειξε Δημοσθένην, ὃς ἐκ τῆς διοικήσεως εἰς ταῦτα ἔχει μικροῦ δεῖν δέκα τάλαντα, ἔτερος δ' ἀπαγορεύει νόμος ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον μὴ στεφανοῦν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ὅμωμόκατε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι, ὁ δὲ ρήτωρ γέγραφε τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν οὐ προσθεῖσις ἐπειδὴν δῷ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐξελέγχω τὸ παράνομον μάρτυρας ἄμα τοὺς νόμους καὶ

τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τοὺς ἀντιδίκους παρεχόμενος. Πῶς οὖν ἂν τις περιφανέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν ἄνθρωπον παράνομα γεγραφότα;

‘Ως τοίνυν καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου παρανό- 32 μως ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι κελεύει γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τοῦθ’ ὑμᾶς διδάξω. ‘Ο γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην κελεύει, ἐὰν μέν τινα στεφανοῦ ἡ βουλή, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνακηρύττεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ ὁ δῆμος, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ. Καί μοι λέγε τὸν νόμον.

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

Οὗτος ὁ νόμος, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μάλα καλῶς 33 ἔχει. Οὐ γάρ, οἶμαι, φέτο δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν ῥήτορα σεμινύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ’ ἀγαπᾶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ μὴ ἐργολαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν. ‘Ο μὲν οὖν νομοθέτης οὕτως· ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν πῶς; Ἀναγίγνωσκε τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

‘Ακούετε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης 34 κελεύει ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἐν Πυκνὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνακηρύττειν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ, Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον ὑπερβάσις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τόπον μετενεγκών, οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ τραγῳδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν, οὐδὲ ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου, ἀλλ’ ἐναντίον τῶν Ἐλλήνων, ἵν’ ἡμῖν συνειδῶσιν οἷον ἄνδρα τιμῶμεν.

Οὕτω τοίνυν περιφανῶς παράνομα γεγραφώς, παρα- 35 ταχθεὶς μετὰ Δημοσθένους ἐποίσει τέχνας τοῖς νόμοις.

ᾶς ἐγὼ δηλώσω καὶ προερῶ ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ λάθητε ἔξαπα-
τηθέντες. Οὗτοι γάρ, ώς μὲν οὐκ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ
νόμοι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττειν
ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οὐχ ἔξουσι λέγειν, οἴσουσι δὲ εἰς
τὴν ἀπολογίαν τὸν Διονυσιακὸν νόμον, καὶ χρήσονται
36 τοῦ νόμου μέρει τινὶ κλέπτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὑμῶν, καὶ
παρέξονται νόμον οὐδὲν προσήκοντα τῇδε τῇ γραφῇ, καὶ
λέξουσιν ώς εἰσὶ τῇ πόλει δύο νόμοι κείμενοι περὶ τῶν
κηρυγμάτων, εἰς μὲν ὃν νῦν ἐγὼ παρέχομαι διαρρήδην
ἀπαγορεύοντα τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ
κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἔτερον δ’ εἶναι νόμον
φήσουσιν ἐναντίον τούτῳ, τὸν δεδωκότα ἔξουσίαν ποι-
εῖσθαι τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου τραγῳδοῖς ἐν τῷ
θεάτρῳ, ἐὰν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος· κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν
νόμον φήσουσι γεγραφέναι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα. Ἐγὼ δὲ
37 πρὸς τὰς τούτων τέχνας παρέξομαι συνηγόρους τοὺς
νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους, ὅπερ διατελῶ σπουδάζων παρὰ 59
πᾶσαν τὴν κατηγορίαν. Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἔστιν ἀληθὲς
καὶ τοιοῦτον ἔθος παραδεδυκεν ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν
ῶστ’ ἀκύρους νόμους ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις ἀναγεγράφθαι
καὶ δύο περὶ μιᾶς πράξεως ὑπεναντίους ἀλλήλοις, τι
ἄν ἔτι ταύτην εἴποι τις εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐν ᾧ
ταύτᾳ προστάττουσιν οἱ νόμοι ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν;
38 Ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἔχει ταῦθ’ οὔτως· μήθ’ ὑμεῖς ποτὲ εἰς
τοσαύτην ἀταξίαν τῶν νόμων προβαίητε, οὔτε ἡμέ-
ληται περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τῷ νομοθέτῃ τῷ τὴν δημοκρα-
τίαν καταστήσαντι, ἀλλὰ διαρρήδην προστέτακται τοῖς

θεσμοθέταις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν διορθοῦν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς νόμους, ἀκριβῶς ἔξετάσαντας καὶ σκεψαμένους εἴ τις ἀναγέγραπται νόμος ἐναντίος ἐτέρῳ νόμῳ ή ἄκυρος ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις, ή εἴ πού εἰσὶ νόμοι πλείους ἐνὸς ἀναγέγραμμένοι περὶ ἑκάστης πράξεως. Καν τι τοιοῦτον εὐρίσκωσιν, ἀναγέγραφότας ἐν σανίσιν ³⁹ ἐκτιθέναι κελεύει πρόσθεν τῶν Ἐπωνύμων, τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιγράφαντας νομοθέτας, τὸν δ' ἐπιστάτην τῶν προεδρῶν διαχειροτονίαν διδόναι τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀναιρεῖν τῶν νόμων, τοὺς δὲ καταλείπειν, ὅπως ἀν εἴς η νόμος καὶ μὴ πλείους περὶ ἑκάστης πράξεως. Καί μοι λέγε τοὺς νόμους.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

Εἰ τοίνυν, ὡ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀληθῆς ην ὁ παρὰ ⁴⁰ τούτων λόγος καὶ ησαν δύο κείμενοι νόμοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οἷομαι, τῶν μὲν θεσμοθετῶν ἐξευρόντων, τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων ἀποδόντων τοῖς νομοθέταις ἀνήρητ' ἀν ὁ ἔτερος τῶν νόμων, ητοι ὁ τὴν ἐξουσίαν δεδωκὼς ἀνειπεῖν η ὁ ἀπαγορεύων. ὅπότε δὲ μηδὲν τούτων γεγένηται, φανερῶς δή που ἐξελέγχονται οὐ μόνον ψευδῆ λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἀδύνατα γενέσθαι. "Οθεν δὲ δὴ τὸ ψεῦδος τοῦτο ἐπι- ⁴¹ φέρουσιν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ὑμᾶς προειπών ὃν ἔνεκα οἱ νόμοι ἐτέθησαν οἱ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρυγμάτων. Γιγνομένων γὰρ τῶν ἐν ἄστει τραγῳδῶν ἀνεκήρυττόν τινες, οὐ πείσαντες τὸν δῆμον, οἱ μὲν ὅτι στεφανοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν, ἔτεροι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν.

ἄλλοι δέ τινες ὑποκηρυξάμενοι τοὺς αὐτῶν οἰκέτας ἀφί-
εσαν ἀπέλευθέρους, μάρτυρας τῆς ἀπέλευθερίας τοὺς
42 Ἑλληνας ποιούμενοι. "Ο δ' ἦν ἐπιφθονώτατον, προ-
ξενίας τινὲς εὐρημένοι ἐν ταῖς ἔξω πόλεσι διεπράττοντο
ἀναγορεύεσθαι ὅτι στεφανοῦ αὐτοὺς ὁ δῆμος, εἰ οὕτω
τύχοι, ὁ τῶν Ἱοδίων ἢ Χίων ἢ καὶ ἄλλης τινὸς πόλε-
ως, ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας. Καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπρατ-
τον οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας στε-
φανούμενοι ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, πείσαντες ὑμᾶς καὶ μετὰ
ψηφίσματος, πολλὴν χάριν καταθέμενοι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ
43 προελόμενοι ἄνευ δόγματος ὑμετέρου. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου
τοῦ τρόπου συνέβαινε τοὺς μὲν θεατὰς καὶ τοὺς χορη-
γοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀνακηρυτ-
τομένους ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μείζοι τιμᾶς τιμᾶσθαι τῶν
ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένων. Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀποδέ-
δεικτο τόπος ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ᾧ χρῆν στεφανοῦσθαι, καὶ
ἀπείρητο ἄλλοθι μηδαμοῦ κηρύττεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀνηγο-
ρεύοντο ἐνώπιον ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων· κάκεῖνοι μὲν
μετὰ ψηφίσματος, πείσαντες ὑμᾶς, οὗτοι δ' ἄνευ ψηφί-
σματος.

44 Συνιδὼν δή τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον οὐδὲν
ἐπικοινωνοῦντα τῷ περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανου-
μένων νόμῳ, οὔτε λύσας ἐκεῖνον (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ ἐκκλησία
ἡνωχλεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέατρον), οὔτ' ἐναντίον τοῖς πρό-
τερον κειμένοις νόμοις τιθείς (οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν), ἀλλὰ
περὶ τῶν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ὑμετέρου στεφανουμένων
ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν τοὺς οἰκέ-

τας ἀπελευθερούντων καὶ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων,
καὶ διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύει μήτ' οὐκέτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν
τῷ θεάτρῳ μήθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορεύ-
εσθαι στεφανούμενον, μήθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου, φησί, μηδενός, ἢ
εο ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα. "Οταν οὖν ἀποδείξῃ τοῖς μὲν 45
ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς στεφανουμένοις εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον
ἀναρρήθηναι, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένοις εἰς
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν στεφανουμέ-
νοις καὶ φυλετῶν ἀπείπη μὴ κήρυττεσθαι τοῖς τραγῳ-
δοῖς, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἔρανίζων στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγματα
ψευδῆ φιλοτιμίαν κτάται, προσαπείπη δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ
μηδ' ὑπὸ ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἀνακηρύττεσθαι ἀπούσης βου-
λῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν,—ὅταν δέ τις
ταῦτα ἀφέλῃ, τί τὸ καταλειπόμενόν ἐστι πλὴν οἱ ξενι-
κοὶ στέφανοι; "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, μέγα σημεῖον ὑμῖν 46
τούτου ἔξι αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων ἐπιδείξω. Αὐτὸν γὰρ τὸν
χρυσοῦν στέφανον, ὃς ἀν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῷ ἐν ἄστει
ἀναρρήθῃ, ἵερὸν εἶναι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὁ νόμος κελεύει,
ἀφελόμενος τὸν στεφανούμενον. Καίτοι τίς ἀν ὑμῶν
τολμήσειε τοσαύτην ἀνελευθερίαν καταγνῶναι τοῦ δή-
μου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων; Μὴ γὰρ ὅτι πόλις, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀν
ἴδιώτης οὐδὲ εἰς οὕτως ἀγεννῆς γένοιτο ὥστε ὃν αὐτὸς
ἔδωκε στέφανον ἀμα ἀνακηρύττειν καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ
καθιεροῦν. Ἀλλ' οἷμαι, διὰ τὸ ξενικὸν εἶναι τὸν στέ-
φανον καὶ ἡ καθιέρωσις γίγνεται, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀλλοτρίαν
εὔνοιαν περὶ πλείονος ποιούμενος τῆς πατρίδος χείρων
γένηται τὴν ψυχήν. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐκ- 47

κλησίᾳ ἀναρρήθεντα στέφανον οὐδεὶς καθιεροῦ, ἀλλ' ἔξεστι κεκτῆσθαι, ἵνα μὴ μόνου αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἔξ
ἔκείνου, ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὸ ὑπόμνημα, μηδέποτε
κακὸν τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸν δῆμον γίγνωνται. Καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο προσέθηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τὸν ἀλ-
λότριον στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἐὰν μὴ ψηφίσηται ὁ
δῆμος, ὥν ἡ πόλις ἡ βουλομένη τινὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων στε-
φανοῦν πρέσβεις πέμψασα δεηθῆ τοῦ δήμου, ἵνα κηρυ-
τόμενος μείζω χάριν εἰδῇ τῶν στεφανούντων ὑμῖν, ὅτι
κηρύξαι ἐπετρέψατε. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, τῶν νόμων
αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

48 'Επειδὰν τοίνυν ἔξαπατῶντες ὑμᾶς λέγωσιν ὡς προσ-
γέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἔξειναι στεφανοῦν, ἐὰν ψηφίση-
ται ὁ δῆμος, ἀπομνημονεύετε αὐτοῖς ὑποβάλλειν, ναι, εἴ
γέ σέ τις ἄλλη πόλις στεφανοῖ· εἰ δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθη-
ναίων, ἀποδέδεικτάί σοι τόπος ὅπου δεῖ τοῦτο γενέ-
σθαι, ἀπείρηταί σοι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας μὴ κηρύττεσθαι.
Τὸ γὰρ ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ ὅ τι ἔστιν, ὅλην τὴν
ἡμέραν λέγε· οὐ γὰρ ἀποδείξεις ὡς ἔννομα γέγραφας.

49 "Εστι δὲ ὑπόλοιπόν μοι μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας, ἐφ' ὃ
μάλιστα σπουδάζω· τοῦτο δέ ἔστιν ἡ πρόφασις δι' ἣν
αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦ στεφανοῦσθαι. Λέγει γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῷ
ψηφίσματι, καὶ τὸν κήρυκα ἀναγορεύειν ἐν τῷ
θεάτρῳ πρὸς τοὺς "Ελληνας ὅτι στεφανοῖ
αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα
καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὅτι διατελεῖ

λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ.
 Ἀπλοῦς δὴ παντάπασιν ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν λόγος γί-
 γνεται, καὶ ὑμῖν ἀκούσασι κρίναι εὐμαθῆς· δεῖ γὰρ δή
 που τὸν μὲν κατηγοροῦντα ἐμὲ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐπιδεικνύναι,
 ώς εἰσὶν οἱ κατὰ Δημοσθένους ἔπαινοι ψευδεῖς καὶ ώς
 οὗτ' ἥρξατο λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα οὔτε νῦν διατελεῖ πράτ-
 των τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δήμῳ. Καν τοῦτ' ἐπιδείξω, δι-
 καίως δή που τὴν γραφὴν ἀλώσεται Κτησιφῶν· ἀπαντεῖ
 γὰρ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι μηδένα ψευδῆ γράμματα
 ἐγγράφειν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ψηφίσμασι. Τῷ δ' ἀπολο-
 γουμένῳ τούναντίον τούτου δεικτέον ἔστιν. Τοις δ'
 ἡμῖν ἔσεσθε τῶν λόγων κριταί. Ἐχει δ' οὕτως.

'Εγὼ τὸν μὲν βίον τὸν Δημοσθένους ἔξετάζειν μα-
 κροτέρου λόγου ἔργον ἥγοῦμαι εἶναι. Τί γὰρ δεῖ νῦν
 ταῦτα λέγειν, ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ τραύματος γραφὴν
 αὐτῷ συμβεβηκότα, ὅτ' ἐγράφατο εἰς Ἀρειον πάγον
 Δημομέλη τὸν Παιανιέα ἀνεψιὸν ὅντα ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τὴν
 τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτομήν· ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν Κηφισοδότου
 στρατηγίαν καὶ τὸν τῶν νεῶν ἔκπλουν τὸν εἰς Ἑλλήσ-
 ποντον, ὅτε εἴς ὃν τῶν τριηράρχων Δημοσθένης καὶ 52
 περιάγων τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆς νεώς καὶ συσσιτῶν καὶ
 συνθύων καὶ συσπένδων, καὶ τούτων ἀξιωθεὶς διὰ τὸ
 πατρικὸς αὐτῷ φίλος εἶναι, οὐκ ὕκνησεν ἀπ' εἰσαγγε-
 λίας αὐτοῦ κρινομένου περὶ θανάτου κατήγορος γενέ-
 σθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ἥδη τὰ περὶ Μειδίαν καὶ τοὺς κονδύ-
 λους οὓς ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ ὁρχήστρᾳ χορηγὸς ὃν, καὶ ώς
 ἀπέδοτο τριάκοντά μνῶν ἀμα τὴν τε εἰς αὐτὸν ὕβριν

καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου καταχειροτονίαν, ἦν ἐν Διονύσου
 53 κατεχειροτόνησε Μειδίου. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μοι δοκῶ
 καὶ τάλλα τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια ὑπερβήσεσθαι, οὐ προδι-
 δοὺς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καταχαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο
 φοβούμενος, μή μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαντήσῃ τὸ δοκεῖν μὲν
 ἀληθῆ λέγειν, ἀρχαῖα δὲ καὶ λίαν ὁμολογούμενα. Καί-
 τοι, ὡς Κτησιφῶν, ὅτῳ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν αἰσχρῶν οὔτως
 ἔστι πιστὰ καὶ γνώριμα τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὥστε τὸν κατή-
 γορον μὴ δοκεῖν ψευδῆ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ καὶ λίαν
 προωμολογημένα, πότερα αὐτὸν δεῖ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ
 στεφανωθῆναι, ή ψέγεσθαι; Καὶ σὲ τὸν ψευδῆ καὶ
 παράνομα τολμῶντα γράφειν πότερα χρὴ καταφρονεῖν
 τῶν δικαστηρίων, ή δίκην τῇ πόλει δοῦναι;

54 Περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων πειράσομαι σα-
 φέστερον εἰπεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ πυνθάνομαι μέλλειν Δημο-
 σθένην, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος ἀποδοθῇ, καταριθμεῖσθαι
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄρα τῇ πόλει τέτταρες ἥδη γεγένηνται
 καιροὶ ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς πεπολίτευται. [¶] Ων ἔνα μὲν καὶ
 [πάντων] πρῶτον, ὡς ἔγωγε ἀκούω, καταλογίζεται
 ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐν φῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀμφι-
 πόλεως ἐπολεμοῦμεν· τοῦτον δ' ἀφορίζεται τὸν χρόνον
 τῇ γενομένῃ εἰρήνῃ καὶ συμμαχίᾳ, ἦν Φιλοκράτης ὁ
 Ἀγνούσιος ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος μετ' ἐκείνου, ὡς
 55 ἔγὼ δείξω. Δεύτερον δὲ καιρόν φησι γενέσθαι ὃν
 ἥγομεν χρόνον τὴν εἰρήνην, δηλονότι μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας
 ἐκείνης ἐν ἣ καταλύσας τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην τῇ
 πόλει ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ρήτωρ ἔγραψε τὸν πόλεμον· τρί-

τον δὲ ὃν ἐπολεμοῦμεν χρόνον μέχρι τῆς ἀτυχίας τῆς
 ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν νῦν παρόντα καιρόν.
 Ταῦτα δὲ καταριθμησάμενος, ως ἀκούω, μέλλει με πα-
 ρακαλεῖν καὶ ἐπερωτᾶν ὅποίου τούτων τῶν τεττάρων
 αὐτοῦ καιρῶν κατηγορῶ καὶ πότε αὐτὸν οὐ τὰ βέλ-
 τιστά φημι τῷ δήμῳ πεπολιτεῦσθαι· καὶ μὴ θέλω
 ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐγκαλύπτωμαι καὶ ἀποδιδράσκω,
 ἐκκαλύψειν μέ φησι προσελθὼν καὶ ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα
 καὶ ἀναγκάσειν ἀποκρίνασθαι. “Ιν’ οὖν μήθ’ οὗτος ⁵⁶
 ἴσχυρίζηται ὑμεῖς τε πρόειδήτε ἐγώ τε ἀποκρίνωμαι,
 ἐναντίον σοι τῶν δικαστῶν, Δημόσθενες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 πολιτῶν ὅσοι δὴ ἔξωθεν περιεστᾶσι καὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων
 ὅσοις ἐπιμελὲς γέγονεν ὑπακούειν τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως
 (ὅρῶ δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγους παρόντας, ἀλλ’ ὅσους οὐδεὶς πώ-
 ποτε μέμνηται πρὸς ἀγῶνα δημόσιον παραγενομένους),
 ἀποκρίνομαι ὅτι ἀπάντων τῶν τεττάρων καιρῶν κατη-
 γορῶ σου, οὓς σὺ διαιρῇ, καὶ οἵ τε θεοὶ θέλωσι καὶ οἱ ⁵⁷
 δικασταὶ ἐξ ἵσου ἡμῶν ἀκούσωσι κάγὼ δύνωμαι ἀπο-
 μνημονεῦσαι ἃ σοι σύνοιδα, πάνυ προσδοκῶ ἐπιδείξειν
 τοὺς δικασταῖς τῆς μὲν σωτηρίας τῇ πόλει τοὺς θεοὺς
 αἰτίους γεγενημένους καὶ τοὺς φιλανθρώπως καὶ με-
 τρίως τοὺς τῆς πόλεως πράγμασι χρησαμένους, τῶν δὲ
 ἀτυχημάτων ἀπάντων Δημόσθενην αἴτιον γεγενημένον.
 Καὶ χρήσομαι τῇ τοῦ λόγου τάξει ταύτη ἣν τοῦτον
 πυνθάνομαι μέλλειν ποιεῖσθαι, λέξω δὲ πρῶτον περὶ
 τοῦ πρώτου καιροῦ καὶ δεύτερον περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ
 τρίτον περὶ τοῦ ἐφεξῆς καὶ τέταρτον περὶ τῶν νῦν

καθεστηκότων πραγμάτων. Καὶ δὴ ἐπανάγω ἐμαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἦν σὺ καὶ Φιλοκράτης ἐγράψατε.

53 ‘Τμῆν γὰρ ἔξεγένετ’ ἄν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν προτέραν ἑκείνην εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν ‘Ελλήνων, εἴ τινες ὑμᾶς εἴασαν περιμεῖναι τὰς 62 πρεσβείας ἃς ἦτε ἐκπεπομφότες κατ’ ἑκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν εἰς τὴν ‘Ελλάδα, παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππου, μετασχέν ‘Ελληνικοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου παρ’ ἐκόντων τῶν ‘Ελλήνων ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· καὶ τούτων ἀπεστερίθητε διὰ Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλοκράτην καὶ τὰς τούτων δωροδοκίας, ἃς ἐδωροδόκησαν 59 συστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ δημόσιον τὸ ὑμέτερον. Εἰ δέ τισιν ὑμῶν ἔξαιφνης ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστότερος προσπέπτωκεν ὁ τοιοῦτος λόγος, ἑκείνως τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ποιήσασθε ἀκρόασιν, ὥσπερ ὅταν περὶ χρημάτων ἀνηλωμένων διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου καθεξώμεθα ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμούς. ’Ερχόμεθα δή που ψευδεῖς οἴκοθεν ἐνίστε δόξας ἔχοντες κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν· ἀλλ’ ὅμως ἐπειδὴν ὁ λογισμὸς συγκεφαλαιωθῇ, οὐδὲν ἡμῶν ἐστὶν οὕτω δύσκολος τὴν φύσιν, ὅστις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦθ’ ὁμολογήσας καὶ ἐπινεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι ὅ τι ἀν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἴρῃ. 60 Οὔτω καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιήσασθε. Εἴ τινες ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων ἤκουσιν οἴκοθεν τοιαύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, ὡς ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθένης οὐδὲν πώποτε εἴρηκεν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου συστὰς μετὰ Φιλοκράτους, — ὅστις οὕτω διάκειται, μήτ’ ἀπογνώτω μηδὲν μήτε καταγνώτω πρὶν ἀκούσῃ· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον. ’Αλλ’

εἳν ἐμοῦ διὰ βραχέων ἀκούσητε ὑπομιμήσκοντος τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα παρεχομένου δὲ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἔγραψε Δημοσθένης, εὖν αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λογισμὸς ἔγκαταλαμβάνῃ τὸν Δημοσθένην πλείω μὲν γεγραφότα ψηφίσματα Φιλοκράτους περὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰ εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δὲ αἰσχύνης κεκολακευκότα Φίλιππον καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνουν πρέσβεις οὐκ ἀναμείναντα, αἴτιον δὲ γεγονότα τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ μὴ μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἔκδοτον δὲ Φιλίππῳ πεποιηκόα Κερσοβλέπτην τὸν Θράκης βασιλέα, ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον τῇ πόλει, εὖν ταῦθ' ὑμῖν σαφῶς ἐπιδείξω, δεήσομαι ὑμῶν μετρίαν δέησιν· ἐπινεύσατέ μοι πρὸς θεῶν τὸν πρῶτον τῶν τεττάρων καιρῶν μὴ καλῶς αὐτὸν πεπολιτεύσθαι. Λέξω δὲ ὅθεν μάλιστα παρακολουθήσετε.

⁶² Ἔγραψε Φιλοκράτης ἐξεῖναι Φιλίππῳ δεῦρο κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπειν περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας· τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραφη παρανόμων. ⁶³ Ήκον οἱ τῆς κρίσεως χρόνοι· κατηγόρει μὲν Λυκῖνος ὁ γραφάμενος, ἀπελογεῖτο δὲ Φιλοκράτης, συναπελογεῖτο δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης· ἀπέφυγε Φιλοκράτης. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπήει ὁ χρόνος, Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄρχων· ἐνταῦθ' εἰσέρχεται βουλευτὴς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον Δημοσθένης, οὗτε λαχὼν οὕτ' ἐπιλαχών, ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς πριάμενος, ἵν' εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ἀπαντα καὶ λέγοι καὶ πράττοι Φιλοκράτει, ώς αὐτὸ ἔδειξε τὸ ἔργον. Νικᾶ γὰρ ἔτερον ψήφισμα

Φιλοκράτης, ἐν φῷ κελεύει ἑλέσθαι δέκα πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀξιώσουσιν αὐτὸν δεῦρο πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορας πέμπειν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης. Τούτων εἰς ἣν Δημοσθένης. Κάκεῖθεν ἐπανήκων ἐπαινέτης ἣν τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ ταῦτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσιν ἀπήγγειλε, καὶ μόνος τῶν βουλευτῶν ἔγραψε σπείσασθαι τῷ κήρυκι τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν, ἀκόλουθα γράφων Φιλοκράτει· ὁ μέν γε τὴν ἔξουσίαν ἔδωκε τοῦ δεῦρο κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπεσθαι, ὁ δὲ ⁶⁴ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ σπένδεται. Τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἥδη σφόδρα μοι τὸν νοῦν προσέχετε. Ἐπράττετο γὰρ οὐ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις τοὺς πολλὰ συκοφαντηθέντας ὕστερον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Φιλοκράτην καὶ Δημοσθένην, εἰκότως, τοὺς ἅμα μὲν πρεσβεύοντας, ἅμα δὲ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφοντας, πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως μὴ περιμείνητε τοὺς πρέσβεις οὓς ἡτε ἐκπεπομφότες παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, ἵνα μὴ ⁶⁵ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ’ ἵδια ποιήσησθε τὴν εἰρήνην· δεύτερον δ’ ὅπως μὴ μόνον τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίαν εἶναι ψηφιεῖσθε πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὥν εἴ τινες προσέχοιεν τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ, εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἐμπέσοιεν ἀθυμίαν ὁρῶντες ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς μὲν παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἵκοι δὲ μὴ μόνον εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐψηφισμένους ποιεῖσθαι· τρίτον δὲ ὅπως Κερσοβλέπτης ὁ Θράκης βασιλεὺς μὴ ἔσται ἔνορκος, μηδὲ μετέσται τῆς συμμαχίας καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτῷ. Παρηγγέλλετο δ’ ἥδη ἐπ’ αὐτὸν στρατεία.

Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν ἔξωνούμενος οὐκ ἡδίκει (πρὸ γὰρ ⁶⁶ τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀνεμέσητον ἦν αὐτῷ πράττειν τὰ συμφέροντα), οἱ δὲ ἀποδόμενοι καὶ κατακοινωνήσαντες τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἵσχυρὰ μεγάλης ὄργης ἥσαν, ἄξιοι. Ο γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος νυνὶ φάσκων εἶναι καὶ τότε μισοφίλιππος Δημοσθένης, ὁ τὴν ἔνειαν ἐμοὶ προφέρων τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, γράφει ψήφισμα, τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς πόλεως ὑφαιρούμενος, ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν τοὺς πρυτάνεις τῇ ὄγδοῃ ἰσταμένουν ⁶⁷ τοῦ Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνός, ὅτ’ ἦν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἡ θυσία καὶ ὁ προαγών, ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, ὃ πρότερον οὐδεὶς μέμνηται γενόμενον, τίνα πρόφασιν ποιησάμενος; "Ινα, φησίν, ἐὰν ἡδη παρὼσιν οἱ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις, βουλεύσηται ὁ δῆμος ὡς τάχιστα περὶ τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππου, τοὺς οὖπω παροῦσι πρέσβεσι προκαταλαμβάνων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ὑμῶν ὑποτεμνόμενος καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κατασπεύδων, ἵνα μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐπανελθόντων τῶν ὑμετέρων πρέσβεων, ἄλλὰ μόνοι ποιήσησθε τὴν εἰρήνην. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἥκον οἱ ⁶⁸ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις· οἱ δὲ ὑμετέροι ἀπεδήμουν παρακαλοῦντες τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπὶ Φίλιππου. Ἐνταῦθ' ἔτερον ψήφισμα νικᾶ Δημοσθένης, ἐν ᾧ γράφει μὴ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἄλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίας ὑμᾶς βουλεύσασθαι, μὴ περιμείναντας τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ὑμετέρους, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰ Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει,

τῇ ὄγδοῃ καὶ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω,
ἀκούσατε τῶν ψηφισμάτων.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

69 ὉἘπειδὴ τοίνυν, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, παρεληλύθει τὰ Διονύσια, ἔγιγνοντο δὲ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀνεγνώσθη δόγμα [τῇ ὄγδοῃ ἐπὶ δέκα] κοινὸν τῶν συμμάχων, οὗ τὰ κεφάλαια διὰ βραχέων ἐγὼ προερῶ. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔγραψαν ὑπὲρ ἐιρήνης ὑμᾶς μόνον βουλεύσασθαι, τὸ δὲ τῆς συμμαχίας δύνομα ὑπερέβησαν, οὐκέτι εἰλελησμένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐιρήνην ἀναγκαιοτέραν ἢ καλλίω ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι. ἔπειτα ἀπήντησαν ὁρθῶς ἴασόμενοι τὸ Δημοσθένους δωροδόκημα, καὶ προσέγραψαν ἐν τῷ δόγματι ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τρισὶ μησὶν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν στήλην ἀναγεγράφθαι μετ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ μετέχειν τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν, δύο μέγιστα προκαταλαμβάνοντες, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῆς τριμήνου ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρεσβείαις ἵκανὸν γενέσθαι παρασκευάζοντες, ἔπειτα τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὔνοιαν τῇ πόλει μετὰ κοινὸν συνεδρίου κτώμενοι, ἵν' εἰ παραβαίνοντο αἱ συνθῆκαι, μὴ μόνοι μηδὲ ἀπαράσκευοι πολεμήσαιμεν, ἀ νῦν ἡμῖν παθεῖν συνέβη διὰ Δημοσθένην. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δόγματος ἀκούσαντες μαθήσεσθε.

ΔΟΓΜΑ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΩΝ.

71 Τούτῳ τῷ δόγματι συνειπεῖν ὁμολογῶ, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν δημηγοροῦντες· καὶ

ό δῆμος ἀπῆλθε τοιαύτην τινὰ δόξαν εἰληφώς, ὡς
 ἔσται μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη, περὶ δὲ συμμαχίας οὐκ ἄμεινον
 εἴη διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων παράκλησιν βουλεύσασθαι,
 ἔσται δὲ κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων. Νὺξ
 ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ παρῆμεν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλη-
 σίαν. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ προκαταλαμβάνων Δημοσθένης
 τὸ βῆμα, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων παραλιπὼν λόγον, οὐδὲν
 64 ὅφελος ἔφη τῶν χθὲς εἰρημένων εἶναι λόγων, εἰ
 ταῦθ' οἱ Φιλίππου μὴ συμπεισθήσονται πρέσβεις,
 οὐδὲ γιγνώσκειν ἔφη τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπούσης συμμαχίας.
 Οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν (καὶ γὰρ τὸ ρῆμα μέμνημαι ὡς 72
 εἶπε, διὰ τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ λέγοντος ἄμα καὶ τοῦ ὀνό-
 ματος), ἀπορρήξαι τῆς εἰρήνης τὴν συμμαχίαν, οὐδὲ
 τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναμένειν μελλήματα, ἀλλ' ἡ πο-
 λεμεῖν αὐτοὺς ἡ τὴν εἰρήνην ἴδιᾳ ποιεῖσθαι. Καὶ
 τελευτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρακαλέσας Ἀντίπατρον
 ἐρώτημά τι ἡρώτα, προειπὼν μὲν ἀ ἐρήσεται, προ-
 διδάξας δὲ ἀ χρὴ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποκρίνασθαι.
 Καὶ τέλος ταῦτ' ἐνίκα, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ προβιασαμένου
 Δημοσθένους, τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα γράψαντος Φιλοκρά-
 τους. Ὁ δὲ ἦν ὑπόλοιπον αὐτοῖς, Κερσοβλέπτην 73
 καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Θράκης τόπον ἔκδοτον ποιῆσαι, καὶ τοῦτ'
 ἐπραξαν ἔκτῃ φθίνοντος τοῦ Ἑλαφηβολιῶνος μηνός,
 πρὶν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν ἀπαίρειν πρεσβείαν τὴν ἐπὶ
 τοὺς ὄρκους Δημοσθένην· ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος καὶ
 μισοφίλιππος ὑμῶν οὗτοσὶ ρήτωρ δὶς ἐπρέσβευσεν εἰς
 Μακεδονίαν, ἐξὸν μηδὲ ἄπαξ, ὁ νυνὶ κελεύων τῶν

Μακεδόνων καταπτύειν. Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τῇ
τῇ ἕκτῃ λέγω, καθεζόμενος βουλευτὴς ὃν ἐκ παρα-
σκευῆς, ἔκδοτον Κερσοβλέπτην μετὰ Φιλοκράτους
74 ἐποίησε. Λανθάνει γὰρ ὁ μὲν Φιλοκράτης ἐν ψηφί-
σματι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γραμμάτων παρεγγράψας (ὁ
δ' ἐπιψηφίσας, Δημοσθένης), ἐν φῷ γέγραπται ἀπο-
δοῦναι δὲ τοὺς ὅρκους τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς
παρὰ Φιλίππου ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς συνέ-
δρους τῶν συμμάχων. Παρὰ δὲ Κερσοβλέ-
πτου σύνεδρος οὐκ ἐκάθητο· γράψας δὲ τοὺς συνε-
δρεύοντας ὅμνύναι τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην οὐ συνεδρεύοντα
75 ἐξέκλεισε τῶν ὅρκων. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀνάγνωθί¹
μοι τίς ἦν ὁ ταῦτα γράψας καὶ τίς ὁ ταῦτα ἐπι-
ψηφίσας πρόεδρος.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ.

Καλόν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καλὸν ἡ τῶν δημοσίων
γραμμάτων φυλακή· ἀκίνητον γάρ ἐστι καὶ οὐ συμ-
μεταπίπτει τοῖς αὐτομολοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, ἀλλ'
ἐπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ, ὅπόταν βούληται, συνιδεῖν τοὺς
πάλαι μὲν πονηρούς, ἐκ μεταβολῆς δ' ἀξιοῦντας εἶναι
χρηστούς.

76 "Τπόλοιπον δ' ἐστί μοι τὴν κολακείαν αὐτοῦ διε-
ξελθεῖν. Δημοσθένης γάρ, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνιαυ-
τὸν βουλεύσας οὐδεμίαν πώποτε φανεῖται πρεσβείαν
εἰς προεδρίαν καλέσας, ἀλλὰ τότε πρῶτον καὶ μόνον
πρέσβεις εἰς προεδρίαν ἐκάλεσε καὶ προσκεφάλαια
ἔθηκε καὶ φοινικίδας περιεπέτασε καὶ ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ

ἥγετο τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ὥστε καὶ συρίπτεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην καὶ κολακείαν. Καὶ ὅτ’ ἀπήεσαν εἰς Θήβας, ἐμισθώσατο αὐτοῖς τρία ζεύγη ὄρικὰ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις προῦπεμψεν εἰς Θήβας, καταγέλαστον τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν. “Ινα δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως μείνω, λάβε μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ περὶ τῆς προεδρίας.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Οὗτος τοίνυν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ τηλικοῦτος τὸ π μέγεθος κόλαξ πρῶτος διὰ τῶν κατασκόπων τῶν παρὰ Χαριδήμου πυθόμενος τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν τῶν μὲν θεῶν συμπλάσας ἔαυτῷ ἐνύπνιον κατεψεύσατο, ὡς οὐ παρὰ Χαριδήμου τὸ πρᾶγμα πεπυσμένος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, οὓς μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἐπιορκῶν νύκτωρ φησὶν ἔαυτῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι προλέγειν, ἐβδόμην δ’ ἡμέραν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ τετελευτηκυίας, πρὶν πενθῆσαι καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι, στεφανωσάμενος καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα λαβὼν ἐβουθύτει καὶ παρηνόμει, τὴν μόνην ὁ δείλαιος καὶ πρώτην αὐτὸν πατέρα προσειποῦσαν ἀπολέσας. Καὶ οὐ τὸ δυστύχημα ὄνειδίζω, ἀλλὰ τὸν τρόπον ἔξετάξω. ‘Ο γὰρ μισότεκνος καὶ πατὴρ πονηρὸς οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο δημαγωγὸς χρηστός, οὐδὲ ὁ τὰ φίλτατα καὶ οἰκειότατα σώματα μὴ στέργων οὐδέποθ’ ὑμᾶς περὶ πλείονος ποιήσεται τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους, οὐδέ γε ὁ ἴδιᾳ πονηρὸς οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο δημοσίᾳ χρηστός, οὐδ’ ὅστις ἔστιν οἴκοι φαῦλος,

οὐδέποτ' ἦν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ κατὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν καλὸς κάγαθός· οὐ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μόνον μετήλλαξεν.

79 Πόθεν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἥλθε τῶν πραγμάτων (οὗτος γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ δεύτερος καιρός), καὶ τί ποτ' ἔστὶ τὸ αἴτιον ὅτι Φιλοκράτης μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολιτευμάτων Δημοσθένει φυγὰς ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας γεγένηται, Δημοσθένης δὲ ἐπέστη τῶν ἄλλων κατήγορος, καὶ πόθεν ποθ' ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς ἀτυχίας ὁ μιαρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐμβέβληκε, ταῦτ' ἥδη διαφερόντως 80 ἄξιόν ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι. Ως γὰρ τάχιστα εἴσω Πυλῶν Φιλιππος παρῆλθε καὶ τάς τε ἐν Φωκεῦσι πόλεις παραδόξως ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε, Θηβαίους δέ, ώς τόθ' ὑμῖν ἐδόκει, περαιτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου συμφέροντος ἵσχυροὺς κατεσκεύασεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν φοβηθέντες ἐσκευαγωγήσατε, ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις δ' ἥσαν αἰτίαις οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ τὴν εἰρήνην πρεσβεύσαντες, πολὺ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διαφερόντως Φιλοκράτης καὶ Δημοσθένης διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον πρεσβεύειν, ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα γεγραφέναι (συνέβη δ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις διαφέρεσθαι τι Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλοκράτην σχεδὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς ὑπωπτεύσατε διενεχθῆναι) — τοιαύτης δὲ ἐμπιπτούσης ταραχῆς μετὰ τῶν συμφύτων νοσημάτων αὐτῷ ἥδη τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο, μετὰ δειλίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς Φιλοκράτην ὑπὲρ τῆς δωροδοκίας ζηλοτυπίας, καὶ ἥγήσατο, εἰ τῶν συμπρεσβευόντων καὶ τοῦ Φιλίπ-

που κατήγορος ἀναφανείη, τὸν μὲν Φιλοκράτην προδόλως ἀπολεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους συμπρέσβεις κινδυνεύσειν, αὐτὸς δ' εὐδοκιμήσειν καὶ προδότης ὃν τῶν φίλων καὶ πονηρὸς πιστὸς τῷ δῆμῳ φαινήσεσθαι.

Κατιδόντες δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῇ πόλεως προσπολε- 82 μοῦντες ἡσυχίᾳ ἄσμενοι παρεκάλουν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, τὸν μόνον ἀδωροδόκητον ὄνομάζοντες τῇ πόλει· ὁ δὲ παριὼν ἀρχὰς αὐτοῖς ἐνεδίδου πολέμου καὶ ταραχῆς. Οὗτος ἐστιν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ πρῶτος ἔξευρὼν Σέρριον τεῖχος καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ Ἐργίσκην καὶ Μουργίσκην καὶ Γάνος καὶ Γανίδα, χωρία ὡν οὐδὲ τὰ ὄνόματα ἥδει- μεν πρότερον. Καὶ ἐς τοῦτο φέρων περιέστησε τὰ πράγματα ὡστ' εἰ μὲν μὴ πέμποι Φίλιππος πρέσβεις, καταφρονεῦν αὐτὸν ἔφη τῇ πόλεως, εἰ δὲ πέμποι, κατασκόπους πέμπειν, ἀλλ' οὐ πρέσβεις. Εἴ δὲ ἐπι- 83 τρέπειν ἐθέλοι πόλει τινὶ ἵση καὶ ὅμοιᾳ περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, οὐκ εἶναι κριτὴν ἵσον ἡμῖν ἔφη καὶ Φιλίππω. Ἀλόννησον ἐδίδου· ὁ δ' ἀπηγόρευε μὴ λαμβάνειν, εἰ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδίδωσι, περὶ συλλαβῶν διαφερόμενος. Καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον στεφανώσας τοὺς μετὰ Ἀριστοδήμου εἰς Θετταλίαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν παρὰ τὰς τῆς εἰρήνης συνθήκας ἐπιστρατεύσαντας τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην διέλυσε, τὴν δὲ συμφορὰν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρεσκεύασεν.

Ναί, ἀλλὰ χαλκοῖς καὶ ἀδαμαντίνοις τείχεσιν, ὡς 84 αὐτὸς φησι, τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐτείχισε, τῇ τῶν Εὐβοέων καὶ Θηβαίων συμμαχίᾳ. Ἀλλ', ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,

περὶ ταῦτα τρία μέγιστα ἡδίκησθε καὶ μάλιστα ἥγνο-
ήκατε. Σπεύδων δ' εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς θαυμαστῆς συμ-
μαχίας τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων, ἵν' ἐφεξῆς εἴπω, περὶ τῶν
Εὐβοέων πρώτον μνησθήσομαι.

85 'Τμεῖς γάρ, ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡδικη-
μένοι οὐπὸ Μνησάρχου τοῦ Χαλκιδέως, τοῦ Καλλίου
καὶ Ταυροσθένους πατρός (οὗς οὗτος νυνὶ μισθὸν λα-
βὼν Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τολμᾶ γράφειν), καὶ πάλιν οὐπὸ
Θεμίσωνος τοῦ Ἑρετριέως, ὃς ἡμῶν εἰρήνης οὖσης
Ὀρωπὸν ἀφείλετο, τούτων ἐκόντες ἐπιλανθανόμενοι,
ἐπειδὴ διέβησαν εἰς Εὐβοιαν Θηβαῖοι καταδουλώσα-
σθαι τὰς πόλεις πειρώμενοι, ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις ἐβοηθή-
σατε αὐτοῖς καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῇ δυνάμει, καὶ πρὶν τριά-
κονθ' ἡμέρας διελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους Θηβαίους ἀφήκατε,
κύριοι τῆς Εὐβοίας γενόμενοι, καὶ τάς τε πόλεις αὐτὰς
καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀπέδοτε ὄρθως καὶ δικαίως τοῖς πα- 86
ρακαταθεμένοις, οὐχ ἥγούμενοι δίκαιον εἶναι τὴν ὄργὴν
ἀπομνημονεύειν ἐν τῷ πιστευθῆναι. Καὶ τηλικαῦθ'
οὐφ' ὑμῶν εὖ πεπονθότες οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς οὐ τὰς ὁμοίας ὑμῖν
ἀπέδοσαν χάριτας, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα διέβητε εἰς
Εὐβοιαν Πλουτάρχῳ βοηθήσοντες, τοὺς μὲν πρώτους
χρόνους ἀλλ' οὖν προσεποιοῦνθ' ὑμῖν εἶναι φίλοι, ἐπειδὴ
δὲ τάχιστα εἰς Ταμύνας παρήλθομεν καὶ τὸ Κοτύλαιον
ὄνομαζόμενον ὄρος ὑπερεβάλλομεν, ἐνταῦθα Καλλίας ὁ
Χαλκιδεὺς (ὅν Δημοσθένης μισθαρνῶν ἐνεκωμίαζεν),
87 ὄρῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῆς πόλεως εἴς τινας δυσχω-
ρίας κατακεκλειμένον, ὅθεν μὴ νικήσασι μάχην οὐκ ἦν

ἀναχώρησις οὐδὲ βοηθείας ἐλπὶς οὔτ' ἐκ γῆς οὔτ' ἐκ θαλάττης, συναγείρας ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Εύβοίας στρατόπεδον καὶ παρὰ Φιλίππου δύναμιν προσμεταπεμψάμενος, ὃ τ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ταυροσθένης, ὁ νυνὶ πάντας δεξιούμενος καὶ προσγελῶν, τοὺς Φωκικοὺς ξένους διαβιβάσας, ἥλθον ἐφ' ήμᾶς ὡς ἀναιρήσοντες. Καὶ εἰ⁸⁸ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν θεῶν τις ἔσωσε τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπειθ' οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ὑμέτεροι καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἵπποδρομον τὸν ἐν Ταμύναις ἐκ παρατάξεως μάχῃ κρατήσαντες ἀφεῖσαν ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἀν ήμῶν ἡ πόλις αἴσχιστα παθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ τὸ δυστυχῆσαι κατὰ πόλεμον μέγιστὸν ἐστι κακόν, ἀλλ' ὅταν τις πρὸς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀναξίους ἔαυτοῦ διακινδυνεύων ἀποτύχῃ, διπλασίαν εἰκὸς εἶναι τὴν συμφοράν. Ἐλλ' ὅμως ὑμεῖς τοιαῦτα πεπονθότες πάλιν διελύσασθε πρὸς αὐτούς.

Τυχὸν δὲ συγγνώμης παρ' ὑμῶν Καλλίας ὁ Χαλκείδεὺς μικρὸν διαλιπὼν χρόνον πάλιν ἦκε φερόμενος εἰς τὴν ἔαυτοῦ φύσιν, Εὐβοϊκὸν μὲν τῷ λόγῳ συνέδριον εἰς Χαλκίδα συνάγων, ἵσχυρὰν δὲ τὴν Εὐβοιαν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἔργῳ παρασκευάζων, ἐξαίρετον δ' αὐτῷ τυραννίδα περιποιούμενος. Καὶ ταύτης ἐλπίζων συναγωνιστὴν Φίλιππον λήψεσθαι ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ περιήει μετὰ Φιλίππου, καὶ τῶν ἔταίρων εἷς ὀνομάζετο. Ἀδικήσας δὲ Φίλιππον κάκεῖθεν ἀποδρὰς ὑπέβαλεν ἔαυτὸν φέρων Θηβαίοις. Ἐγκαταλιπὼν δὲ κάκείνους, καὶ πλείους τραπόμενος τροπὰς τοῦ Εύρ-

που παρ' ὃν φέκει, εἰς μέσον πίπτει τῆς τε Θηβαίων ἔχθρας καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου. Ἀπορῶν δ' ὁ τι χρήσαιτο αὐτῷ, καὶ παραγγελλομένης ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἥδη στρατείας, μίαν ἐλπίδα λοιπὴν κατεῖδε σωτηρίας ἔνορκον λαβεῖν τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, σύμμαχον ὄνομασθέντα, βοηθήσειν εἴ τις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἴοι· ὁ πρόδηλον ἦν ἐσό-
 91 μενον, εἴ μὴ ὑμεῖς κωλύσετε. Ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεὶς ἀποστέλλει δεῦρο πρέσβεις Γλαυκέτην καὶ Ἐμπέ-
 δωνα καὶ Διόδωρον τὸν δολιχοδρομήσαντα, φέροντας τῷ μὲν δήμῳ ἐλπίδας κενάς, Δημοσθένει δ' ἀργύριον καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν. Τρία δ' ἦν ἡ ἀμά ἐξωνεῖτο, πρῶ-
 τον μὲν μὴ διασφαλῆναι τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς συμμαχίας· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸ μέσον, εἴ μνησθεὶς τῶν προτέρων ἀδι-
 κημάτων ὁ δῆμος μὴ προσδέξαιτο τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ ἡ φεύγειν ἐκ Χαλκίδος ἢ τεθνάναι ἐγκα-
 ταληφθέντι· τηλικαῦται δυνάμεις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπεστρά-
 τευον, ἢ τε Φιλίππου καὶ Θηβαίων. Δεύτερον δ' ἦκον
 92 οἱ μισθοὶ τῷ γράψαντι τὴν συμμαχίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ
 συνεδρεύειν Ἀθήνησι Χαλκιδέας, τρίτον δὲ ὥστε μὴ
 τελεῖν συντάξεις. Καὶ τούτων τῶν προαιρέσεων οὐδε-
 μιᾶς ἀπέτυχε Καλλίας, ἀλλ' ὁ μισοτύραννος Δημοσθέ-
 νης, ὡς αὐτὸς προσποιεῖται (ὄν φησι Κτησιφῶν τὰ
 βέλτιστα λέγειν), ἀπέδοτο μὲν τοὺς καιροὺς τοὺς τῆς
 πόλεως, ἔγραψε δ' ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ βοηθεῖν ἡμᾶς
 Χαλκιδεῦσι, ρήμα μόνον ἀντικαταλλαξάμενος, ἀντὶ
 τούτων εὐφημίας ἔνεκα προσγράψας Χαλκιδέας βοη-
 93 θεῖν ἐάν τις ἵη ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους· τὰς δὲ συνεδρίας καὶ 67

τὰς συντάξεις, ἐξ ὧν ἵσχύσειν ὁ πόλεμος ἥμελλεν, ἄρδην ἀπέδοτο, καλλίστοις ὀνόμασι αἰσχίστας πράξεις γράφων καὶ τῷ λόγῳ προσβιβάζων ὑμᾶς, ὡς δεῖ τὴν πόλιν τὰς μὲν βοηθείας πρότερον ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀεὶ δεομένοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὰς δὲ συμμαχίας ὑστέρας μετὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας. "Ινα δ' εὖ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, λάβε μοι τὴν Καλλίου γραφὴν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν, καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Οὕπω τοίνυν τοῦτο ἐστὶ δεινόν, εἰ καιροὶ πέπρανται ⁹⁴ τηλικοῦτοι καὶ συνεδρίαι καὶ συντάξεις, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τούτου δεινότερον ὑμῖν φανήσεται ὃ μέλλω λέγειν. Εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο προήχθη Καλλίας μὲν ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ὕβρεως καὶ πλεονεξίας, Δημοσθένης δέ, ὃν ἔπαινεὶ Κτησιφῶν, δωροδοκίας, ὡστε τὰς ἐξ Ὁρεοῦ συντάξεις καὶ τὰς ἐξ Ἐρετρίας, τὰ δέκα τάλαντα, ὁρώντων φρονούντων βλεπόντων ἔλαθον ὑμῶν ὑφελόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τούτων συνέδρους παρ' ὑμῶν μὲν ἀνέστησαν, πάλιν δὲ εἰς Χαλκίδα καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Εὔβοϊκὸν συνέδριον συνήγαγον. "Ον δὲ τρόπου καὶ δι' οἴων κακουργημάτων, ταῦτ' ἥδη ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι. Ἀφικνεῖται γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκέτι δι' ἀγγέλων, ἀλλ' ⁹⁵ αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλίας, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λόγους διεξῆλθε κατεσκευασμένους ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους. Εἶπε γὰρ ὡς ἥκοι ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νεωστὶ σύνταγμά συντάξας εἰς ἑκατὸν ταλάντων πρόσοδον ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, καὶ διελογίζετο ὅσον ἑκάστους ἔδει συντελεῖν, Ἀχαιοὺς

μὲν πάντας καὶ Μεγαρέας ἔξηκοντα τάλαντα, τὰς δ'
 96 ἐν Εύβοιᾳ πόλεις ἀπάσας τετταράκοντα· ἐκ δὲ τούτων
 τῶν χρημάτων ὑπάρξειν καὶ ναυτικὴν καὶ πεζὴν δύνα-
 μιν· εἶναι δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὓς
 βούλεσθαι κοινωνεῖν τῆς συντάξεως; "Ωστε οὔτε χρη-
 μάτων οὔτε στρατιωτῶν ἔσεσθαι ἀπορίαν. Καὶ ταῦ-
 τα μὲν τὰ φανερά· ἔφη δὲ καὶ πράξεις πράττειν ἔτέ-
 ρας δι' ἀπορρήτων, καὶ τούτων εἶναι τινας μάρτυρας
 τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν, καὶ τελευτῶν ὀνομαστὶ παρεκά-
 λει Δημοσθένην καὶ συνειπεῖν ἡξίου.

97 'Ο δὲ σεμνῶς πάνυ παρελθὼν τὸν τε Καλλίαν ὑπερ-
 επήνει τό τε ἀπόρρητον προσεποιήσατο εἰδέναι· τὴν
 δ' ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρεσβείαν, ἦν ἐπρέσβευσε, καὶ
 τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας ἔφη βούλεσθαι ὑμῖν ἀπαγγεῖλαι.
 "Ην δ' αὐτῷ κεφάλαιον τῶν λόγων πάντας μὲν Πελο-
 ποννησίους ὑπάρχειν, πάντας δ' Ἀκαρνᾶνας συντετα-
 γμένους ἐπὶ Φίλιππον ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ, εἶναι δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα
 χρημάτων μὲν εἰς ἑκατὸν νεῶν ταχυναυτουσῶν πληρώ-
 ματα καὶ εἰς πεζοὺς στρατιώτας μυρίους καὶ ἵππεας χι-
 98 λίους, ὑπάρξειν δὲ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς δυνά-
 μεις, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου μὲν πλείονας ἢ δισχιλίους ὥπλί-
 τας, ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας δὲ ἑτέρους τοσούτους· δεδόσθαι δὲ
 ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὑμῖν· πραχθήσεσθαι
 δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἔκτην ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ
 Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός· εἰρῆσθαι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν
 ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παρηγγέλθαι πάντας ἥκειν συνεδρεύ-
 99 σοντας Ἀθήναζε εἰς τὴν πανσέληνον. Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο

ἄνθρωπος ἕδιον καὶ οὐ κοινὸν ποιεῖ. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι ἀλαζόνες ὅταν τι ψεύδωνται, ἀόριστα καὶ ἀσαφῆ πειρῶνται λέγειν, φοβούμενοι τὸν ἔλεγχον· Δημοσθένης δ' ὅταν ἀλαζονεύηται, πρῶτον μὲν μεθ' ὄρκου ψεύδεται, ἐξώλειαν ἐπαρώμενος ἑαυτῷ, δεύτερον δέ, ἂν εὖ οἰδεν οὐδέποτε ἐσόμενα, τολμᾶ λέγειν ἀριθμῶν εἰς ὅπότ' ἔσται, καὶ ὡν τὰ σώματα οὐχ ἔώρακε, τούτων τὰ ὀνόματα λέγει, κλέπτων τὴν ἀκρόβασιν καὶ μιμούμενος τοὺς τάληθή λέγοντας. Διὸ καὶ σφόδρα ἄξιός ἔστι μισεῖσθαι, ὅτι πονηρὸς ὡν καὶ τὰ τῶν χρηστῶν σημεῖα διαφθείρει.

Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν δίδωσιν ἀναγνῶναι ψήφισμα τῷ 100 γραμματεῖ μακρότερον μὲν τῆς Ἰλίαδος, κενότερον δὲ τῶν λόγων οὓς εἴωθε λέγειν καὶ τοῦ βίου ὃν βεβίωκε, 68 μεστὸν δ' ἐλπίδων οὐκ ἐσομένων καὶ στρατοπέδων οὐδέποτε συλλεγησομένων. Ἀπαγαγὼν δ' ὑμᾶς ἄποθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλέμματος καὶ ἀνακρεμάσας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων, ἐνταῦθα δὴ συστρέψας γράφει κελεύων ἐλέσθαι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, οἵτινες δεήσονται τῶν Ἐρετριέων (πάνυ γὰρ ἔδει δεηθῆναι), μηκέτι διδόναι τὴν σύνταξιν ὑμῖν τὰ πέντε τάλαντα, ἀλλὰ Καλλίᾳ, καὶ πάλιν ἐτέρους αἴρεῖσθαι εἰς Ὁρεὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ὁρείτας πρέσβεις, οἵτινες δεήσονται τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίοις φίλον καὶ ἔχθρὸν νομίζειν εἶναι. Ἐπειτα 101 ἀναφαίνεται περὶ ἀπάντων ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι πρὸς τῷ κλέμματι γράψας καὶ τὰ πέντε τάλαντα τοὺς πρέσβεις ἄξιοῦν τοὺς Ὁρείτας μὴ ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ Καλλίᾳ

διδόναι. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀφελὸν τὸν κόμπον
καὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀνάγνωθι καὶ
τοῦ κλέμματος ἄψαι, ὃ ὑφεῖλετο ὁ μιαρὸς καὶ ἀνόσιος
ἄνθρωπος, ὃν φησι Κτησιφῶν καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφί-
σματι διατελεῖν λεγοντα καὶ πράττοντα τὰ ἄριστα τῷ
δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

102 Οὐκοῦν τὰς μὲν τριήρεις καὶ τὴν πεζὴν στρατιὰν
καὶ τὴν πανσέληνον καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους λόγῳ ἡκού-
σατε, τὰς δὲ συντάξεις τῶν συμμάχων, τὰ δέκα τά-
λαντα, ἔργῳ ἀπωλέσατε.

103 'Τπόλοιπον δέ μοί ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι λαβὼν τρία τά-
λαντα μισθὸν τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἔγραψε Δημοσθένης,
τάλαντον μὲν ἐκ Χαλκίδος παρὰ Καλλίου, τάλαντον δ'
ἔξ 'Ερετρίας παρὰ Κλειτάρχου τοῦ τυράννου, τάλαντον
δὲ ἔξ 'Ωρεοῦ, διὸ καὶ καταφανῆς ἐγένετο, δημοκρατου-
μένων τῶν Ὁρειτῶν καὶ πάντα πραττόντων μετὰ ψηφί-
σματος. 'Εξανηλωμένοι γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον
πολέμῳ καὶ παντελῶς ἀπόρως διακείμενοι πέμπουσι
πρὸς αὐτὸν Γνωσίδημον τὸν Χαριγένους νῦν τοῦ
δυναστεύσαντός ποτε ἐν Ὁρεῷ, δεησόμενον αὐτοῦ τὸ
μὲν τάλαντον ἀφεῖναι τῇ πόλει, ἐπαγγελούμενον δ'
104 αὐτῷ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα σταθῆσεσθαι ἐν Ὁρεῷ. 'Ο δὲ
ἀπεκρίνατο τῷ Γνωσιδήμῳ ὅτι ἐλαχίστου χαλκοῦ
οὐδὲν δέοιτο, τὸ δὲ τάλαντον διὰ τοῦ Καλλίου εἰσπράτ-
τειν. 'Αναγκαζόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ὁρεῖται καὶ οὐκ εὐποροῦν-
τες ὑπέθεσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ ταλάντου τὰς δημοσίας προσ-

όδους, καὶ τόκον ἥνεγκαν Δημοσθένει τοῦ δωροδοκήματος δραχμὴν τοῦ μηνὸς τῆς μνᾶς, ἕως τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀπέδοσαν. Καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη μετὰ ψηφίσματος τοῦ δήμου. "Οτι δὲ τάληθῆ λέγω, λάβε μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν Ὀρειτῶν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, αἱ-¹⁰⁵ σχύνη μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ἔλεγχος δὲ οὐ μικρὸς τῶν Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων, φανερὰ δὲ κατηγορία Κτησιφῶντος· τὸν γὰρ οὗτος αἰσχρῶς δωροδοκοῦντα οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνδρα γεγονέναι ἀγαθόν, ἢ τετόλμηκεν οὗτος γράψαι ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι.

"Ενταῦθ' ἥδη τέτακται καὶ ὁ τρίτος τῶν καιρῶν, ¹⁰⁶ μᾶλλον δ' ὁ πάντων πικρότατος χρόνος, ἐν φέρεται Δημοσθένης ἀπώλεσε τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῆς πόλεως πράξεις ἀσεβήσας μὲν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἄδικον δὲ καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἵστην τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους συμμαχίαν γράψας. "Αρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοῦ πλημμελημάτων λέγειν.

"Εστι γάρ, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ Κιρράλον ὡνο-¹⁰⁷ μασμένον πεδίον καὶ λιμὴν ὁ νῦν ἐξάγιστος καὶ ἐπάρατος ὡνομασμένος. Ταύτην ποτὲ τὴν χώραν κατώκησαν Κιρράῖοι καὶ Ἀκραγαλλίδαι, γένη παρανομώτατα, οἱ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἡσέβουν, ἐξημάρτανον δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας. Ἀγανακτήσαντες δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς γυγνομένοις μάλιστα μέν, ὡς λέγονται, οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ ὑμέτεροι, ἐπειτα καὶ οἱ

ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτύονες μαντείαν ἐμαντεύσαντο παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, τίνι χρὴ τιμωρίᾳ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτους μετελ-¹⁰³θεῖν. Καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀναιρεῖ ἡ Πυθία πολεμεῖν Κιρραίοις καὶ Ἀκραγαλλίδαις πάντ' ἥματα καὶ πάσας νύκτας, καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐκπορθήσαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀν-δραποδισαμένους ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Λητοῦ καὶ Αθηνᾶ Προνοίᾳ ἐπὶ ⁶⁹ πάσῃ ἀεργίᾳ, καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν μήτ' αὐτοὺς ἐρ-γάζεσθαι μήτ' ἄλλον ἔαν.

Λαβόντες δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες ἐψη-
φίσαντο Σόλωνος εἰπόντος Ἀθηναίου τὴν γνώμην,
ἀνδρὸς καὶ νομοθετῆσαι δυνατοῦ καὶ περὶ ποίησιν
καὶ φιλοσοφίαν διατετριφότος, ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς
¹⁰⁹ ἐναγεῖς κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ συναθροίσαν-
τες δύναμιν ἱκανὴν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐξηνδραποδί-
σαντο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὸν λιμένα ἔχωσαν καὶ
τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν
καθιέρωσαν κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὅρ-
κον ὕμοσαν ἵσχυρὸν μήτ' αὐτοὶ τὴν ἴερὰν γῆν ἐργά-
σεσθαι μήτ' ἄλλῳ ἐπιτρέψειν, ἀλλὰ βοηθήσειν τῷ
θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἴερᾷ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ πάσῃ
¹¹⁰ δυνάμει. Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτοῖς τοῦτον μόνον τὸν
ὅρκον ὕμόσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προστροπὴν καὶ ἀρὰν ἵσχυρὰν
ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐποιήσαντο. Γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῇ
ἀρά, εἴ τις τάδε φησὶ παραβαίνοι ἢ πόλις ἢ
ἰδιώτης ἢ ἔθνος, ἐναγής φησιν ἔστω τοῦ
Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λη-

τοῦς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Προνοίας. Καὶ ἐπεύχεται ¹¹¹ αὐτοῖς μήτε γῆν καρποὺς φέρειν μήτε γυναῖκας τέκνα τίκτειν γονεῦσιν ἔοικότα, ἀλλὰ τέρατα, μήτε βοσκήματα κατὰ φύσιν γονὰς ποιεῖσθαι, ἥτταν δὲ αὐτοῖς εἶναι πολέμου καὶ δικῶν καὶ ἀγορῶν, καὶ ἐξώλεις εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ γένος τὸ ἔκείνων. Καὶ μήποτέ φησιν ὁσίως θύσαιεν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μηδὲ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι μηδὲ τῇ Λητοῖ μηδ' Ἀθηνᾶς Προνοίᾳ, μηδὲ δέξαιντο αὐτοῖς τὰ ιερά. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀνάγνωθι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ¹¹² μαντείαν. Ἀκούσατε τῆς ἀρᾶς. Ἀναμνήσθητε τῶν ὅρκων, οὓς ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων συνώμοσαν.

ΜΑΝΤΕΙΑ.

Οὐ πρὶν τῆσδε πόληος ἐρείψετε πύργον ἐλόντες,
Πρὶν γέ θεοῦ τέμένη κνανώπιδος Ἀμφιτρίτης
Κῦμα ποτικλύζῃ κελαδοῦν ἱεραῖσιν ἐπ' ἀκταῖς.

ΟΡΚΟΙ. ΑΡΑ.

Ταύτης τῆς ἀρᾶς καὶ τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῆς μαντείας ¹¹³ γενομένης, ἀναγεγραμμένων ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ προεστηκότες αὐτῶν ἄνδρες παρανομώτατοι, ἐπειργάζοντο τὸ πεδίον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐξάγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον πάλιν ἐτείχισαν καὶ συνώκισαν, καὶ τέλη τοὺς καταπλέοντας ἐξελεγον, καὶ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων εἰς Δελφοὺς πυλαγόρων ἐνίους χρήμασι διέφθειραν, ὃν εἴς ἦν Δημοσθένης. Χειροτονηθεὶς γὰρ ¹¹⁴ ὑφ' ὑμῶν πυλαγόρας λαμβάνει χιλίας δραχμὰς παρὰ

τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τοῦ μηδεμίαν μνείαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι ποιήσασθαι. Διωμολογήθη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀποσταλήσεσθαι Ἀθήναζε τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑκάστου μνᾶς εἴκοσι τῶν ἔξαγίστων καὶ ἐπαράτων χρῆμάτων, ἐφ' ὅτε βοηθήσειν τοῖς Ἀμφισσέωσιν Ἀθήνησι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον· ὅθεν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ, ὅτου ἀν προσάψηται ἀνδρὸς ἡ ἴδιώτου ἡ δυνάστου ἡ πόλεως δημοκρατουμένης, τούτων ἑκάστους ἀνιάτοις κακοῖς περιβάλλειν.

115 Σκέψασθε δὴ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὃσῳ περιεγένετο τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων ἀσεβείας. Ἐπὶ γὰρ Θεοφράστου ἄρχοντος, ἱερομνήμονος ὄντος Διογνήτου Ἀναφλυστίου, πυλαγόρους ὑμεῖς εἴλεσθε Μειδίαν τε ἐκεῖνον τὸν Ἀναγυράσιον (δὸν ἐβουλόμην ἀν πολλῶν ἔνεκα ζῆν), καὶ Θρασυκλέα τὸν ἐξ Οἴου, καὶ τρίτον δὲ μετὰ τούτων ἐμέ. Συνέβη δ' ἡμῖν ἀρτίως μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφίχθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ τὸν ἱερομνήμονα Διόγνητον πυρέττειν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο συμπεπτώκει 116 καὶ τῷ Μειδίᾳ. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι συνεκάθηντο Ἀμφικτύονες. Ἐξηγγέλλετο δ' ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν βουλομένων το εὔνοιαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι τῇ πόλει, ὅτι οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς ὑποπεπτωκότες τότε καὶ δεινῶς θεραπεύοντες τοὺς Θηβαίους εἰσέφερον δόγμα κατὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως, πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις ζημιώσαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι χρυσᾶς ἀσπίδας ἀνέθεμεν πρὸς τὸν καινὸν νεὼν πρὸν ἐξειργάσθαι, καὶ ἐπεγράψαμεν τὸ προσῆκον ἐπίγραμμα Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων

ὅτε τάναντία τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἐμάχοντο. Μεταπεμψάμενος δ' ἐμὲ ὁ ἱερομυήμων ἡξίου εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸν οὕτω προῃρημένου. Ἀρχομένου δέ μου λέγειν καὶ προθυμότερόν πως ¹¹⁷ εἰσεληλυθότος εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, τῶν ἄλλων πυλαγόρων μεθεστηκότων, ἀναβοήσας τις τῶν Ἀμφισσέων, ἄνθρωπος ἀσελγέστατος καὶ, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο, οὐδεμιᾶς παίδειας μετεσχηκώς, ισως δὲ καὶ δαιμονίου τινὸς ἐξαμαρτάνειν αὐτὸν προαγομένου, ἀρχὴν δέ γε, ἔφη, ὡς ἄνδρες "Ελληνες, εἰ ἐσωφρονεῖτε, οὐδ' ἀν ωνομάζετε τοῦνομα τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐναγεῖς ἐξείργετε" ἀν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. "Αμα δὲ ¹¹⁸ ἐμέμνητο τῆς τῶν Φωκέων συμμαχίας, ἦν ὁ Κρόβυλος ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψε, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως διεξήει λέγων, ἂν ἐγὼ οὕτε τότ' ἐκαρτέρουν ἀκούων οὕτε νῦν ἡδέως μέμνημαι αὐτῶν.

'Ακούσας δὲ οὕτω παρωξύνθην ὡς οὐδεπώποτε' ἐν τῷ ἐμαυτοῦ βίῳ. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους λόγους ὑπερβήσομαι· ἐπῆλθε δ' οὖν μοι ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην μυησθῆναι τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων περὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσεβείας, καὶ αὐτόθεν ἐστηκὼς ἐδείκνυον τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν (ὑπόκειται γὰρ τὸ Κιρράion πεδίον τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἔστιν εὔσύνοπτον). 'Ορᾶτ', ἔφην ἐγώ, ὡς ἄν-¹¹⁹ δρεις Ἀμφικτύονεις, ἐξειργασμένον τουτὶ τὸ πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων καὶ κεραμεῖα

ἐνφκοδομημένα καὶ αὐλια· ὥρâτε τοῖς ὁφθαλ-
 μοῖς τὸν ἔξαγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον λιμένα
 τετειχισμένον· ἵστε τούτους αὐτοὺς (καὶ οὐ-
 δὲν ἔτέρων δεῖσθε μαρτύρων), τέλη πεπρα-
 χότας καὶ χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ
 ἱεροῦ λιμένος. "Αμα δὲ ἀναγιγνώσκειν ἐκέλευον
 αὐτοῖς τὴν μάντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν δρκον τῶν προγό-
 120 νων, τὴν ἀρὰν τὴν γενομένην, καὶ διωριζόμην ὅτι
 ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων
 καὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ οἰκί-
 ας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ βοηθῶ κατὰ τὸν δρκον καὶ
 τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ
 ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς δύναμαι, καὶ
 τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς
 ἀφοσιῶ· ὑμεῖς δ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἡδη βου-
 λεύεσθε. Ἐνῆρκται μὲν τὰ κανά, παρέ-
 στηκε δὲ τοῖς βωμοῖς τὰ θύματα, μέλλετε δ'
 αἰτεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς τάγαθὰ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἴδιᾳ.
 121 Σκοπεῖτε δὴ ποίᾳ φωνῇ, ποίᾳ ψυχῇ, ποίοις
 δύμασι, τίνᾳ τόλμαν κτησάμενοι τὰς ἰκεσίας
 ποιήσεσθε, τούτους παρέντες ἀτιμωρήτους
 τοὺς ἐναγεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀραις ἐνόχους. Οὐ γὰρ
 δι' αἰνιγμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐναργῶς γέγραπται ἐν τῇ
 ἀρᾳ κατά τε τῶν ἀσεβησάντων, ἀ χρὴ παθεῖν
 αὐτούς, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπιτρεψάντων, καὶ
 τελευταῖον ἐν τῇ ἀρᾳ γέγραπται, μηδ' ὁσίως
 θύσαιεν οἱ μὴ τιμωροῦντες, φησί, τῷ Ἀπόλ-

λωνι μηδὲ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι μηδὲ τῇ Λητοῖ μηδ' Ἀθηνᾶ Προνοίᾳ, μηδὲ δέξαιντο αὐτῶν τὰ ιερά.

Τοιαῦτα καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἔτερα πολλὰ διεξελθόν- 122
τος ἐμοῦ, ἐπειδή ποτε ἀπηλλάγην καὶ μετέστην ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, κραυγὴ πολλὴ καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν οὐκέτι περὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων ἃς ἡμεῖς ἀνέθεμεν, ἀλλ' ἥδη περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τιμωρίας. Ἡδη δὲ πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας οὖσης προσελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ ἀνεῖπε, Δελφῶν ὅσοι ἐπὶ διετὲς ἡβῶσι, καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους, ἥκειν ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔχοντας ἄμας καὶ δικέλλας πρὸς τὸ θυτεῖον ἐκεῖ καλούμενον· καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς κήρυξ ἀνηγόρευε τοὺς ἱερομῆμονας καὶ πυλαγόρους ἥκειν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τούτον βοηθήσοντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ. ἥτις δ' ἀν μὴ παρῇ πόλις, εἴρεται τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἐναγῆς ἔσται καὶ τῇ ἀρᾳ ἔνοχος. Τῇ δὲ ὑστε- 123
ραίᾳ ἥκομεν ἔωθεν εἰς τὸν προειρημένον τόπον, καὶ κατέβημεν εἰς τὸ Κιρραῖον πεδίον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα κατασκάψαντες καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπρήσαντες ἀνεχωροῦμεν. Ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῶν πραττόντων οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς, ἔξήκοντα στάδια ἅποθεν οἰκοῦντες Δελφῶν, ἥκουν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μεθ' ὅπλων πανδημεῖ· καὶ εἰ μὴ δρόμῳ μόλις ἔξεφύγομεν εἰς Δελφούς, ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν ἀν ἀπολέσθαι. Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Κόττυφος ὁ 124
τὰς γυνώμας ἐπιψηφίζων ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίει τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων (ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅταν τις μὴ

μόνον τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱερομυῆμονας συγκαλέση, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνθύοντας καὶ χρωμένους τῷ θεῷ). Ἐνταῦθ' ἥδη πολλαὶ μὲν τῶν Ἀμφισσέων ἐγίγνοντο κατηγορίαι, πολὺς δ' ἔπαινος ἦν κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως· τέλος δὲ παντὸς τοῦ λόγου ψηφίζονται ἥκειν τοὺς ἱερομυῆμονας πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης πυλαίας ἐν ῥητῷ χρόνῳ εἰς Πύλας, ἔχοντας δόγμα καθ' ὃ τι δίκην δώσουσιν οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς ὑπὲρ ὅν εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας ἐξήμαρτον. "Οτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

125 Τοῦ δόγματος οὖν τούτου ἀποδοθέντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἡμῶν ἀποδεξαμένου τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς πόλεως πάσης προαιρουμένης εὐσεβεῖν, καὶ Δημοσθένους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεσεγγυήματος τοῦ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης ἀντιλέγοντος καὶ ἐμοῦ φανερῶς ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ἐξελέγχοντος, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τὴν πόλιν ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἡδύνατο σφῆλαι, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἴδιώτας ἐκφέρεται προβούλευμα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσλαβὼν τὴν τοῦ 126 γράψαντος ἀπειρίαν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διεπράξατο ἐπιψηφισθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι δήμου ψήφισμα ἥδη ἐπαναστάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀπεληλυθότος ἐμοῦ (οὐ γὰρ ἀν ποτε ἐπέτρεψα) καὶ τῶν πολλῶν διαφειμένων· οὐ τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι

τὸν δὲ ἵερομνήμονα, φησί, τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους τοὺς ἀεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας πορεύεσθαι εἰς Πύλας καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις χρόνοις ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων, εὐπρεπῶς γέ τῷ ὄνόματι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔργῳ αἰσχρῶς· κωλύει γὰρ εἰς τὸν σύλλογον τὸν ἐν Πύλαις ἀπαντᾶν, ὃς ἔξ ἀνάγκης πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἔμελλε χρόνον γίγνεσθαι. Καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Ψηφίσματι 127 πολὺ καὶ σαφέστερον καὶ πικρότερον σύγγραμμα γράφει, τὸν ἵερομνήμονα, φησί, τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους τοὺς ἀεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας μὴ μετέχειν τοῖς ἐκεῖσε συλλεγομένοις μήτε λόγων μήτε ἔργων μήτε δογμάτων μήτε πράξεως μηδεμιᾶς. Τὸ δὲ μὴ μετέχειν τί ἐστι; — Πότερα τάληθὲς εἴπω ἢ τὸ ἥδιστον ἀκοῦσαι; Τάληθὲς ἔρω· τὸ γὰρ ἀεὶ πρὸς ἥδονὴν λεγόμενον οὗτοσὶ τὴν πόλιν διατέθεικεν. — Οὐκ ἐᾶ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν ὅρκων, οὓς ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι ὤμοσαν, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρᾶς οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείας.

‘Ημεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατεμείναμεν 128 διὰ τοῦτο τὸ Ψήφισμα, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτύονες συνελέγησαν εἰς Πύλας πλὴν μιᾶς πόλεως, ἷς ἐγὼ οὕτ’ ἀν τούνομα εἴποιμι, μήθ’ αἱ συμφοραὶ παραπλήσιοι γένοιντο αὐτῆς μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Καὶ συνελθόντες ἐψηφίσαντο ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας, καὶ στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρσάλιον τὸν τότε τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζοντα, οὐκ ἐπιδημοῦντος ἐν

Μακεδονίᾳ Φιλίππου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Σκύθαις οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπόντος· ὃν αὐτίκα μάλα τολμήσει λέγειν Δημοσθένης ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τοὺς ¹²⁹Ἐλληνας ἐπήγαγον. Καὶ παρελθόντες τῇ πρώτῃ στρατείᾳ καὶ μάλα μετρίως ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσιν· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων χρήμασιν ¹²αὐτὸὺς ἔζημισαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν ῥῆτῷ χρόνῳ προεἶπον τῷ θεῷ καταθεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐναγεῖς καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰτίους μετεστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ δι' εὔσεβειαν φυγόντας κατήγαγον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτε τὰ χρήματα ἔξετινον τῷ θεῷ τούς τ' ἐναγεῖς κατήγαγον καὶ τοὺς εὔσεβεῖς κατελθόντας διὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἔξέβαλον, οὕτως ἥδη τὴν δευτέραν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας στρατείαν ἐποιήσαντο, πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον, ἐπανεληλυθότος Φιλίππου ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας στρατείας, τῶν μὲν θεῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς εὔσεβείας ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότων, τῆς δὲ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκίας ἐμποδὼν γεγενημένης.

¹³⁰ Ἀλλ' οὐ προῦλεγον, οὐ προεσήμαινον ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ φυλάξασθαι, μόνον γε οὐκ ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς προσκτησάμενοι; Οὐδεμίαν τοι πώποτε ἔγωγε μᾶλλον πόλιν ἑώρακα ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν θεῶν σωζομένην, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων ἐνίων ἀπολλυμένην. Οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἦν τὸ τοῖς μυστηρίοις φανὲν σημεῖον φυλάξασθαι, ἢ τῶν μυστῶν τελευτή; Οὐ περὶ τούτων Ἀμεινάδης μὲν προῦλεγεν εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ πέμπειν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπερησομένους τὸν θεὸν ὅ τι χρὴ πράττειν, Δημοσθένης

δὲ ἀντέλεγε φιλιππίζειν τὴν Πυθίαν φάσκων, ἀπαιδευτος δὲν καὶ ἀπολαύων καὶ ἐμπιπλάμενος τῆς διδομένης ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῷ ἔξουσίας; Οὐ τὸ τελευταῖον ¹³¹ ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερήτων ὄντων τῶν ἱερῶν ἔξέπεμψε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυνον; Καίτοι γε πρώην ἀπετόλμησε λέγειν ὅτι παρὰ τοῦτο Φίλιππος οὐκ ἦλθεν ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ καλὰ τὰ ἱερά. Τίνος οὖν εἰ σὺ ζημίας ἄξιος τυχεῖν, ὁ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριε; Εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν κρατῶν οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν τῶν κρατουμένων χώραν, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ καλὰ τὰ ἱερά, σὺ δ' οὐδὲν προειδὼς τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι πρὶν καλλιερῆσαι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἔξέπεμψας, πότερα στεφανοῦσθαι σε δεῖ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀτυχίαις ἢ ὑπερωρίσθαι;

Τοιγάρτοι τί τῶν ἀνελπίστων καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτων ¹³² ἐφ' ἡμῶν οὐ γέγονεν; Οὐ γὰρ βίον γε ἡμεῖς ἀνθρώπινον βεβιώκαμεν, ἀλλ' εἰς παραδοξολογίαν τοῖς ἐσομένοις μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἔφυμεν. Οὐχ ὁ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεύς, ὁ τὸν Ἀθων διορύξας, ὁ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ζεύξας, ὁ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ τοὺς Ἐλληνας αἴτῳν, ὁ τολμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γράφειν ὅτι δεσπότης ἐστὶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀφ' ἥλιου ἀνιόντος μεχρι δυομένου, νῦν οὐ περὶ τοῦ κύριος ἐτέρων εἶναι διαγωνίζεται, ἀλλ' ἥδη περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας; Καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὄρωμεν τῆς τε δόξης ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσην ἡγεμονίας ἡξιωμένους, ὃν καὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν ἥλευθέρωσαν; Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι, πό- ¹³³

λις ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ὥμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ελλάδος ἀνήρπασται, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, περὶ τῶν ὅλων οὐκ ὀρθῶς βουλευσάμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε θεοβλάβειαν καὶ τὴν ἀφροσύνην οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως, ἀλλὰ δαιμονίως κτησάμενοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' οἱ ταλαιπωροι, προσαψάμενοι μόνον τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξ ἀρχῆς περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν, οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποτὲ ἀξιοῦντες ἡγεμόνες εἶναι, νῦν ὁμηρεύσοντες καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπίδειξιν ποιησόμενοι μέλλουσιν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναπέμπεσθαι, τοῦτο πεισόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ πατρὶς ὁ τι ἀν ἐκείνῳ δόξῃ, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ κρατοῦν-
134 τος καὶ προηδικημένου μετριότητι κριθησόμενοι. Ἡ δ' ὥμετέρα πόλις, ἡ κοινὴ καταφυγὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πρὸς ᾧν ἀφικνοῦντο πρότερον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αἱ πρεσβεῖαι, κατὰ πόλεις ἔκαστοι παρ' ἥμῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν εὑρησόμενοι, νῦν οὐκέτι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνίζεται, ἀλλ' ἵδη περὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφους. Καὶ ταῦθ' ὥμην συμβέβηκεν ἐξ ὅτου Δημοσθένης πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν προσέληνθεν. Εὖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητὴς ἀποφαίνεται. Λέγει γάρ που, παιδεύων τὰ πλήθη καὶ συμβουλεύων ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς πονηροὺς τῶν δημαγωγῶν μὴ προσδέχεσθαι.
135 Λέξω δὲ καγὼ τὰ ἔπη· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οἵμαι ἥμᾶς παῖδας ὄντας τὰς τῶν ποιητῶν γνώμας ἐκμανθάνειν, ἵν' ἄνδρες ὄντες αὐτοῖς χρώμεθα.

Πολλάκι δὴ ξύμπασα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπηύρα,
"Ος κεν ἀλιτραίνῃ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μητιάσται.

Τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγα πῆμα δῶκε Κρονίων,
Λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν, ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί·

“*Ἡ τῶν γε στρατὸν εὑρὺν ἀπώλεσεν ή ὁ γε τεῦχος,*
“*Ἡ νῆας ἐνὶ πόντῳ τίννυται εὐρύοπα Ζεύς.*

Ἐὰν δὲ περιελόντες τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὸ μέτρον τὰς ¹³⁶ γνώμας ἔξετάζητε, οἷμαι ὑμῖν δόξειν οὐ ποιήματα ‘*Ησιόδου εἶναι*, ἀλλὰ χρησμὸν εἰς τὴν Δημοσθέους πολιτείαν· καὶ γὰρ ναυτικὴ καὶ πεζὴ στρατιὰ καὶ πόλεις ἄρδην εἰσὶν ἀνηρπασμέναι ἐκ τῆς τούτου πολιτείας.

‘*Ἄλλ’ οἶμαι, οὐτε Φρυνώνδας οὐτε Εὐρύβατος οὐτ’ ¹³⁷ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν πάλαι πονηρῶν τοιοῦτος μάγος καὶ γόης ἐγένετο, ὃς, ὡς γῆ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ δαιμονες καὶ ἄνθρωποι ὅσοι βούλεσθε ἀκούειν τάληθῆ, τολμᾶ λέγειν βλέπων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τὰ ὑμέτερα, ὡς ἄρα Θηβαῖοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ὑμῖν ἐποιήσαντο οὐ διὰ τὸν καιρόν, οὐ διὰ τὸν φόβον τὸν περιστάντα αὐτούς, οὐ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς Δημοσθέους δημηγορίας. Καίτοι πολλὰς μὲν τούτου ¹³⁸ πρότερον πρεσβείας ἐπρέσβευσαν εἰς Θήβας οἱ μάλιστα οἰκείως ἐκείνοις διακείμενοι, πρῶτος μὲν Θρασύβουλος ὁ Κολλυτεύς, ἀνὴρ ἐν Θήβαις πιστευθεὶς ὡς οὐδεὶς ἔτερος, πάλιν Θράσων ὁ Ἐρχιεύς, πρόξενος ὧν Θηβαίοις, Λεωδάμας ὁ Ἀχαρνεύς, οὐχ ἡττον Δημοσθέους λέγειν δυνάμενος, ἀλλ’ ἔμοιγε καὶ ἡδίων, Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Πήληξ, καὶ δυνατὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ πολλὰ ¹³⁹ κεκινδυνευκὼς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διὰ Θηβαίους, Ἀριστο-*

φῶν ὁ Ἀζηνιεύς, πλεῖστον χρόνον τὴν τὸν Βοιωτιάζειν
 ὑπομείνας αἰτίαν, Πύρρανδρος ὁ Ἀναφλύστιος, ὃς ἔτι
 καὶ νῦν ζῇ. Ἀλλ’ ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοὺς ἐδυ-
 νήθη προτρέψασθαι εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν φιλίαν. Τὸ δ’
 αἴτιον οἶδα μέν, λέγειν δ’ οὐδὲν δέομαι διὰ τὰς ἀτυ-
 140 χίας αὐτῶν. Ἀλλ’ οἶμαι, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος αὐτῶν
 ἀφελόμενος Νίκαιαν Θετταλοῖς παρεῖδωκε, καὶ τὸν πό-
 λεμον ὃν πρότερον ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς τῶν
 Βοιωτῶν, τοῦτον πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον ἐπήγαγε
 διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος ἐπ’ αὐτὰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τὸ τελευ-
 ταῖον Ἐλάτειαν καταλαβὼν ἐχαράκωσε καὶ φρουρὰν
 εἰσήγαγεν, ἐνταῦθ’ ἥδη, ἐπεὶ τὸ δεινὸν αὐτῶν ἥπτετο,
 μετεπέμψαντο Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐξήλθετε καὶ
 εἰσήγειτε εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις διεσκευασμένοι,
 καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς, πρὶν περὶ συμμαχίας μίαν
 141 μόνην συλλαβὴν γράψαι Δημοσθένην. Ο δ’ εἰσάγων
 ἥην ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεία
 συμμαχίας, ἀλλ’ οὐ Δημοσθένης, ἐπεὶ περί γε ταύτας
 τὰς πράξεις τρία τὰ πάντων μέγιστα Δημοσθένης
 εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξημάρτηκε.

Πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Φιλίππου τῷ μὲν ὄνόματι πολε-
 μοῦντος ὑμῖν, τῷ δ’ ἔργῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον μισοῦντος
 Θηβαίους, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα δεδήλωκε (καὶ τί δεῖ
 τὰ πλείω λέγειν;) ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέ-
 γεθος ἀπεκρύψατο, προσποιησάμενος δὲ μέλλειν τὴν
 συμμαχίαν γενήσεσθαι οὐ διὰ τοὺς καιρούς, ἀλλὰ διὰ
 142 τὰς αὐτοῦ πρεσβείας πρῶτον μὲν συνέπεισε τὸν δῆμον

μηκέτι βουλεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τίσι δεῖ ποιήσασθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν μόνον εἰ γίγνεται, τοῦτο δὲ προλαβὼν ἔκδοτον μὲν τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἄπασαν ἐποίησε Θηβαίοις, γράψας ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἐάν τις ἀφιστῇται πόλις ἀπὸ Θηβαίων, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις, τοῖς δύομασι κλέπτων καὶ μεταφέρων τὰ πράγματα, ὥσπερ 74 εἴωθεν, ὡς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἔργῳ κακῶς πάσχοντας τὴν τῶν δύομάτων σύνθεσιν τῶν Δημοσθένους ἀγαπήσοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ μᾶλλον ἐφ' οἷς κακῶς πεπόνθεσαν ἀγανακτήσοντας· δεύτερον δὲ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων 143 τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ὑμῖν ἀνέθηκεν, οἷς ἦσαν ἀπωτέρω οἱ κίνδυνοι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαίοις, δωροδοκῶν ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τούτων, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐποίησε κοινήν, τὸ δ' ἀνάλωμα ἵδιον ὑμέτερον, τὴν δὲ κατὰ γῆν (εἰ μὴ δεῖ ληρεῖν) ἄρδην φέρων ἀνέθηκε Θηβαίοις, ὥστε παρὰ τὸν γενόμενον πόλεμον μὴ κύριον γενέσθαι Στρατοκλέα τὸν ἡμέτερον στρατηγὸν βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίας. Καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν κατηγορῶ, ἔτεροι δὲ παραλεί- 144 πουσιν, ἀλλὰ κάγὼ λέγω καὶ πάντες ἐπιτιμῶσι καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνιστε καὶ οὐκ ὀργίζεσθε. Ἐκεῖνο γὰρ πεπόνθατε πρὸς Δημοσθένην· συνείθισθε ἦδη τάδικήματα αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν, ὥστε οὖθις θαυμάζετε. Δεῖ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, εἰ χρὴ τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ πόλει καλῶς ἔχειν.

Δεύτερον δὲ καὶ πολὺ τούτου μεῖζον ἀδίκημα ἦδι- 145

κησεν, ὅτι τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἄρδην ἔλαθεν ὑφελόμενος καὶ μετήνεγκεν εἰς Θήβας εἰς τὴν Καδμείαν, τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πράξεων τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις συνθέμενος· καὶ τηλικαύτην αὐτὸς αὐτῷ δυναστείαν κατεσκεύασεν, ὥστ' ἦδη παριὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα πρεσβεύσειν μὲν ἔφη ὅποι ἀν αὐτῷ δοκῇ,
 146 καλὸν μὴ ὑμεῖς ἐκπέμπητε, εἰ δέ τις αὐτῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀντεἴποι, καταδουλούμενος τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ συνεθίζων μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγειν διαδικασίαν ἔφη γράψειν τῷ βήματι πρὸς τὸ στρατηγεῖον· πλείω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὰ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔφη ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος πεπονθέναι ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ τοῦ στρατηγείου. Μισθοφορῶν δ' ἐν τῷ ξενικῷ κεναῖς χώραις, καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ χρήματα κλέπτων, καὶ τοὺς μυρίους ξένους ἐκμισθώσας Ἀμφισσεῦσι πολλὰ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ σχετλιάζοντος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐμοῦ, προσέμιξε
 147 φέρων ἀναρπασθέντων τῶν ξένων τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπαρασκεύψῃ πῆ πόλει. Τί γὰρ ἀν οἴεσθε Φύλιππον ἐν τοῖς τότε καιροῖς εὔξασθαι; Οὐ χωρὶς μὲν πρὸς τὴν πολιτικὴν δύναμιν, χωρὶς δ' ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους διαγωνίσασθαι, ἀθύμους δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνας λαβεῖν τηλικαύτης πληγῆς γεγενημένης; Καὶ τηλικούτων κακῶν αἵτιος γεγένημένος Δῆμοσθένης οὐκ ἀγαπᾷ εἰ μὴ δίκην δέδωκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθήσεται ἀγανακτεῖ· οὐδὲ ἵκανόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν κηρύττεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναντίον ἀναρρήθήσεται, τοῦτ' ἦδη ἀγανακτεῖ. Οὕτως,

ώς ἔοικε, πονηρὰ φύσις μεγάλης ἐξουσίας ἐπιλαβομένη δημοσίας ἀπεργάζεται συμφοράς.

Τρίτον δὲ καὶ τῶν προειρημένων μέγιστόν ἐστιν ὁ 148 μέλλω λέγειν. Φιλίππου γὰρ οὐ καταφρονοῦντος τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐδ' ἀγνοοῦντος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσύνετος), ὅτι περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ἡμέρας σμικρῷ μέρει διαγωνιεῖται, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα βουλομένου ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πρεσβείας ἀποστέλλειν μέλλοντος, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐν Θήβαις φοβουμένων τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον, εἰκότως,—οὐ γὰρ ρήτωρ ἀστράτευτος καὶ λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν αὐτοὺς ἐνουθέτησεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Φωκικὸς πόλεμος δεκαετὴς γεγονὼς ἀείμνηστον παιδείαν αὐτοὺς ἐπαίδευσε,—τούτων δὲ ἔχόντων οὕτως αἰσθό- 149 μενος Δημοσθένης, καὶ τοὺς Βοιωτάρχας ὑποπτεύσας μέλλειν εἰρήνην ἴδιᾳ ποιεῖσθαι χρυσίον ἄνευ αὐτοῦ παρὰ Φιλίππου λαβόντας, ἀβίωτον ἡγησάμενος εἶναι εἴ τινος ἀπολειφθήσεται δωροδοκίας, ἀναπηδήσας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων λέγοντος οὔθ' ὡς δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνην οὔθ' ὡς οὐ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ὡς φέτο, τοῦτο κήρυγμά τι τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις προκηρύττων ἀναφέρειν ἔαυτῷ τὰ μέρη τῶν λημμάτων, διώ- 150 μνυτο τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε, Φειδίας ἐνεργολαβεῖν εἰργάσατο καὶ ἐνεπιορκεῖν Δημοσθένει, ἢ μὴν εἴ τις ἔρει ὡς χρὴ πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι ἀπάξειν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν τριχῶν, ἀπομιμούμενος τὴν Κλεοφῶντος πολιτείαν, ὃς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου, ὡς λέγεται, τὴν πόλιν

ἀπώλεσεν. 'Ως δ' οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ὑμετέρους πάλιν ἀνέστρεψαν ἐξεληλυθότας, ἵνα βουλεύσησθε περὶ 151 τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐνταῦθ' ἥδη παντάπασιν ἔκφρων ἐγένετο, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προδότας τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς Βοιωτάρχας ἀπεκάλεσε, καὶ γράψειν ἔφη ψήφισμα ὃ τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐδέποτ' ἀντιβλέψας πέμπειν ὑμᾶς πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας αἰτήσοντας Θηβαίους δίοδον ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. 'Τπεραισχυνθέντες δὲ οἱ ἐν Θήβαις ἄρχοντες μὴ δόξωσιν ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶναι προδόται τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπετράποντο, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν παράταξιν ὅρμησαν.

152 "Ενθα δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄξιον ἐστιν ἐπιμνησθῆναι, οὓς οὗτος ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερήτων ὄντων τῶν Ἱερῶν ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυνον ἐτόλμησε, τοῖς δραπέταις ποσὶ καὶ λελοιπόσι τὴν τάξιν ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τὸν τῶν τελευτησάντων, ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετήν. "Ω πρὸς μὲν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ σπουδαῖα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀχρηστότατε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τόλμαν θαυμασιώτατε, ἐπιχειρήσειν ἐθελήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα, βλέπων εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα, λέγειν ὡς δεῖ σε ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφοραῖς στεφανοῦσθαι; 'Εὰν δ' οὗτος λέγῃ, ὑμεῖς ὑπομενεῖτε, καὶ συναποθανεῖται τοῖς τελευτήσασιν, ὡς ἔσικε, καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα μνήμη; Γένεσθε δή μοι μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν διάνοιαν μὴ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, καὶ νομίσαθ' ὄρâν προιόντα τὸν κήρυκα καὶ

τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀνάρρησιν μέλλουσαν γίγνεσθαι, καὶ λογίσασθε πότερ' οἴεσθε τοὺς οἰκείους τῶν τελευτησάντων πλείω δάκρυα ἀφήσειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τραγῳδίαις καὶ τοῖς ἡρωϊκοῖς πάθεσι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπεισιούσιν ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀγνωμοσύνῃ. Τίς γὰρ ¹⁵⁴ οὐκ ἀν ἀλγήσειν ἄνθρωπος "Ελλην καὶ παιδευθεὶς ἐλευθέρως, ἀναμνησθεὶς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐκεῖνό γε, εἰ μηδὲν ἔτερον, ὅτι ταύτη ποτὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μελλόντων ὥσπερ νυνὶ τῶν τραγῳδῶν γίγνεσθαι, ὅτ' εὔνομεντο μᾶλλον ἡ πόλις καὶ βελτίσι προστάταις ἔχρητο, προελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ καὶ παραστησάμενος τοὺς ὄρφανοὺς ὃν οἱ πατέρες ἤσαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τέτελευτηκότες, νεανίσκους πανοπλίᾳ κεκοσμημένους, ἐκήρυττε τὸ κάλλιστον κήρυγμα καὶ προτρεπτικώτατον πρὸς ἀρετήν, ὅτι τούσδε τοὺς νεανίσκους, ὃν οἱ πατέρες ἐτελεύτησαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, μέχρι μὲν ἥβης ὁ δῆμος ἔτρεφε, νυνὶ δὲ καθοπλίσας τῇδε τῇ πανοπλίᾳ ἀφίησιν ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ τρέπεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ ἔαυτῶν, καὶ καλεῖ εἰς προεδρίαν.

Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐκήρυττεν, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ παρα- ¹⁵⁵ στησύμενος τὸν τῆς ὄρφανίας τοῖς παισὶν αἴτιον τί ποτ' ἀνερεῖ ἢ τί φθέγξεται; Καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν αὐτὰ διεξίη τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος προστάγματα, ἀλλ' οὐ τό γ' ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αἰσχρὸν σιωπηθῆσεται, ἀλλὰ τάναυτία δόξει τῇ τοῦ κήρυκος φωνῇ φθέγγεσθαι, ὅτι τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα (εἰ δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἀνὴρ) στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα τὸν κάκιστον, ἀνδραγαθίας

157 ἔνεκα τὸν ἄνανδρον καὶ λελαιπότα τὴν τάξιν. Μὴ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ἵκετεύω ὑμᾶς, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ τρόπαιον ἵστατε ἀφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διονύσου ὁρχήστρᾳ, μηδ' αἴρειτε παρανοίας ἔναντίον τῶν Ἐλλήνων τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μηδ' ὑπομιμνήσκετε τῶν ἀνιάτων καὶ ἀνηκέστων κακῶν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Θηβαίους, οὓς φυγόντας διὰ τοῦτον ὑποδέδεχθε τῇ πόλει, ὃν ἱερὰ καὶ τέκνα καὶ τάφους ἀπώλεσεν ἡ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκία καὶ τὸ 157 βασιλικὸν χρυσίον. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς σώμασιν οὐ παρεγένεσθε, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε διανοίαις ἀποβλέψατ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς συμφοράς, καὶ νομίσαθ' ὅρāν ἀλισκομένην τὴν πόλιν, τειχῶν κατασκαφάς, ἐμπρήσεις οἰκιῶν, ἀγομένας γυναικας καὶ παῖδας εἰς δουλείαν, πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους, πρεσβύτιδας γυναικας ὄψὲ μεταμανθάνοντας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, κλαίοντας, ἵκετεύοντας ὑμᾶς, ὁργιζομένους οὐ τοῖς τιμωρουμένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τούτων αἴτιοις, ἐπισκήπτοντας μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τὸν τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀλιτήριον στεφανοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην τὴν συμπαρακολουθοῦσαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ φυλάξασθαι. Οὔτε γὰρ πόλις οὕτ' ἀνὴρ ἴδιώτης οὐδεὶς πώποτε καλῶς ἀπήλλαξε Δημοσθένει συμβούλῳ χρησάμενος. ‘Τμεῖς δ', ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε εἰ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πορθμέας τοὺς εἰς Σαλαμῖνα πορθμεύοντας νόμον ἔθεσθε, ἐάν τις αὐτῶν ἄκων ἐν τῷ πόρῳ πλοῖον ἀνατρέψῃ, τούτῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι πάλιν πορθμεῖ γενέσθαι, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτοσχεδιάξῃ εἰς τὰ

τῶν Ἐλλήνων σώματα, τὸν δὲ τὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄρδην ἀνατετραφότα τοῦτον ἔάστε πάλιν ἀπευθύνειν τὰ κοινά;

"Ινα δ' εἴπω καὶ περὶ τοῦ τετάρτου καιροῦ καὶ τῶν 159 νυνὶ καθεστηκότων πραγμάτων, ἐκεῖνο ὑμᾶς ὑπομνῆσαι βούλομαι, ὅτι Δημοσθένης οὐ τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μόνον τάξιν ἔλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, τριήρη προσλαβὼν ὑμῶν καὶ τοὺς "Ἐλληνας ἡργυρόλόγησε. Καταγαγούσης δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς ἀπροσδοκήτου σωτηρίας τοὺς μὲν πρώτους χρόνους ὑπότρομος ἦν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ παριὼν ἡμιθυῆς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα εἰρηνοφύλακα ὑμᾶς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε χειροτονεῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα εἰάτε τὸ Δημοσθένους ἐπιγράφειν ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ Ναυσικλεῖ τοῦτο προσετάττετε· νυνὶ δ' ἥδη καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι ἀξιοῖ. 'Επειδὴ δ' ἐτελεύτησε μὲν Φίλιππος, 'Αλέξανδρος δ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστη, πάλιν αὖ τερατεύομενος ἱερὰ μὲν ἰδρύσατο Πανσανίου, εἰς αἰτίαν δὲ εὐαγγελίων θυσίας τὴν βουλὴν κατέστησεν, ἐπωνυμίαν δ' 'Αλεξάνδρῳ Μαργύτην ἐτίθετο, ἀπετόλμα δὲ λέγειν ὡς οὐ κινηθήσεται ἐκ Μακεδονίας· ἀγαπᾶν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔφη ἐν Πέλλῃ περιπατοῦντα καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα φυλάττοντα. Καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔφη οὐκ εἰκάζων, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ὅτι αἷματός ἐστιν ἡ ἀρετὴ ὡνία, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔχων αἷμα καὶ θεωρῶν τὸν 'Αλεξανδρον οὐκ ἐκ τῆς 'Αλεξάνδρου φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀνανδρίας.

161 "Ηδη δ' ἐψηφισμένων Θετταλῶν ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν, καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸ πρῶτον παροξυνθέντος εἰκότως, ἐπειδὴ περὶ Θήβας ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον, πρεσβευτῆς ὑφ' ὑμῶν χειροτονηθείς, ἀποδρὰς ἐκ μέσου τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἥκεν ὑποστρέψας, οὐτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ οὔτ' ἐν πολέμῳ χρήσιμον ἔαυτὸν παρέχων. Καὶ τὸ πάντων δεινότατον, ὑμεῖς μὲν τοῦτον οὐ προῦδοτε, οὐδ' εἰάσατε κριθῆναι ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίῳ, οὗτος δ' ὑμᾶς νῦν προδέδωκεν, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ ἐστὶν ἀλέγεται. 'Ως γάρ φασιν οἱ πάραλοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβεύσαντες πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον (καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰκότως πιστεύεται), ἐστι τις Ἀριστίων Πλαταικός, ὁ τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ φαρμακοπώλου νίος, εἴ τις ἄρα καὶ ὑμῶν γυγνώσκει. Οὗτός ποτε ὁ νεανίσκος ἐτέρων τὴν ὅψιν διαφέρων γενόμενος ὥκησε πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Δημοσθένους οἰκίᾳ· ὅτι δὲ πράττων ἦ πάσχων, ἀμφίβολος ἡ αἰτία καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδαμῶς εὔσχημον ἔμοι λέγειν. Οὗτος, ως ἐγὼ ἀκούω, ἡγνοημένος ὅστις ποτ' ἐστὶ καὶ πῶς βεβιωκώς, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑποτρέχει καὶ πλησιάζει ἐκείνῳ. Διὰ τούτου γράμματα πέμψας ως Ἀλέξανδρον ἄδειάν τινα εὑρηται καὶ διαλ-
162 λαγὰς καὶ πολλὴν κολακείαν πεποίηται. 'Εκεῖθεν δὲ θεωρήσατε ως ὅμοιόν ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα τῇ αἰτίᾳ. Εἰ γάρ τι τούτων ἐφρόνει Δημοσθένης καὶ πολεμικῶς εἶχεν, ὥσπερ καὶ φησί, πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, τρεῖς αὐτῷ καιροὶ κάλλιστοι παραγεγόνασιν, ὃν οὐδενὶ φαίνεται πε-
κεχρημένος. Εἰς μὲν ὁ πρῶτος, ὅτ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ

πάλαι καθεστηκὼς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀκατασκεύων αὐτῷ τῶν ἴδιων δόντων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη, ἥκμαζε δ' ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασι καὶ πεζῇ στρατιᾷ, ἀσμενος δ' ἀν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν προσεδέξατο διὰ τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους ἑαυτῷ κινδύνους. Εἶπάς τινα ἐνταῦθα λόγον, Δημόσθενες, ἢ ἔγραψάς τι ψήφισμα; Βούλει σε θῶ φοβηθῆναι καὶ χρήσασθαι τῷ σαυτοῦ τρόπῳ; Καίτοι ρήτορικὴν δειλίαν δημόσιος καιρὸς οὐκ ἀναμένει. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάσῃ 161 τῇ δυνάμει Δαρεῖος καταβεβήκει, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν ἀπειλημμένος ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πάντων ἐνδεῆς, ὡς ἔφησθα σύ, αὐτίκα δὲ μάλα ἥμελλεν, ὡς ἦν ὁ πάρα σοῦ λόγος, συμπατηθήσεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου, τὴν δὲ σὴν ἀηδίαν ἢ πόλις οὐκ ἔχώρει καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἃς ἔξηρτημένος ἐκ τῶν δακτύλων περιήεις, ἐπιδεικνύων τισὶ τὸ ἐμὸν πρόσωπον ὡς ἐκπεπληγμένου καὶ ἀθυμοῦντος, καὶ χρυσόκερων ἀποκαλῶν καὶ κατεστέφθαι φάσκων εἴ τι πταῖσμα συμβήσεται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα ἔπραξας οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἴς τινα καιρὸν ἀνεβάλλον καλλίω.

Τπερβὰς τοίνυν ἄπαντα ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῶν νυνὶ καθε- 165 στηκότων λέξω. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν ἐπέτυχον μάχῃ καὶ διέφθειραν τοὺς περὶ Κόρραγον στρατιώτας, Ἡλεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς συμμετεβάλοντο καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ πάντες πλὴν Πελληναίων καὶ Ἀρκαδίᾳ πᾶσα πλὴν Μεγάλης πόλεως, αὕτη δὲ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἥμέραν ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἀλῶναι, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος

ἔξω τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης μεθειστήκει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίπατρος πολὺν χρόνον συνῆγε στρατόπεδον, τὸ δ' ἐσόμενον ἄδηλον ἦν. Ἐνταῦθ' ἥμīν ἀπόδειξιν ποίησαι, ὡς Δημόσθενες, τί ποτ' ἦν ἡ ἔπραξις καὶ τί ποτ' ἦν ἡ ἔλεγχος· καὶ εἰ βούλει, πα-
166 ραχωρῶ σοι τοῦ βήματος, ἔως ἂν εἴπης. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ σιγᾶς, ὅτι μὲν ἀπορεῖς, συγγνώμην ἔχω σοι, ἢ δὲ τότ' ἔλεγχος, ἐγὼ νυνὶ λέξω. Οὐ μέμνησθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μιαρὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα ρήματα, ἢ πῶς ποθ' ὑμεῖς, ὡς σιδή-
ρεοι, ἐκαρτερεῖτε ἀκροώμενοι; Ὅτι ἔφη παρελθὼν ἀμπελουργοῦσι τινες τὴν πόλιν, ἀνατετμή-
κασί τινες τὰ κλήματα τοῦ δήμου, ὑποτέ-
τμηται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων, φορμορ-
ράφουμεθα ἐπὶ τὰ στενά, τινὲς πρῶτον
167 ὡσπερ τὰς βελόνας διείρουσι. Ταῦτα δὲ τί
ἔστιν, ὡς κίναδος; Ῥήματα ἡ θαύματα; Καὶ πάλιν
ὅτε κύκλῳ περιδινῶν σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔλεγχος
ώς ἀντιπράττων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὁμολογῷ τὰ Λακω-
νικὰ συστῆσαι, ὁμολογῷ Θετταλοὺς καὶ
Περραίβοὺς ἀφιστάναι. Σὺ γὰρ ἀν κώμην
ἀποστήσαις; Σὺ γὰρ ἀν προσέλθοις μὴ ὅτι πρὸς
πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς οἰκίαν ὅπου κίνδυνος πρόσεστιν;
Ἄλλ' εἰ μέν που χρήματα ἀναλίσκεται, προσκαθιζή-
σει, πρᾶξιν δὲ ἀνδρὸς οὐ πράξεις· ἐὰν δ' αὐτόματον
τι συμβῇ, προσποιήσῃ καὶ σαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ γεγενημένου
ἐπιγράψεις· ἀν δ' ἔλθῃ φόβος τις, ἀποδράσῃ· ἐὰν
δὲ θαρρήσωμεν, δωρεὰς αἰτήσεις καὶ χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις
στεφανοῦσθαι.

Ναί, ἀλλὰ δημοτικός ἐστιν. Ἐὰν μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς 168
 τὴν εὐφημίαν αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀποβλέπητε, ἔξαπα-
 τηθήσεσθε ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἐὰν δ' εἰς τὴν φύσιν
 καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐκ ἔξαπατηθήσεσθε. Ἐκείνως δὲ
 ἀπολάβετε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον. Ἐγὼ μὲν μεθ'
 ὑμῶν λογιοῦμαι ἂδει ὑπάρξαι ἐν τῇ φύσει τῷ δημο-
 τικῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σώφρονι, καὶ πάλιν ἀντιθήσω ποιόν
 τινα εἰκός ἐστιν εἶναι τὸν δλιγαρχικὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ
 φαῦλον· ὑμεῖς δ' ἀντιθέντες ἐκάτερα τούτων θεωρήσατε
 αὐτόν, μὴ ὄποτέρου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ὄποτέρου τοῦ βίου
 ἐστίν. Οἶμαι τοίνυν ἀπαντας ἀν ὑμᾶς ὁμολογῆσαι 169
 τάδε δεῖν ὑπάρξαι τῷ δημοτικῷ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐλεύθερον
 αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ πρὸς μητρός, ἵνα μὴ
 78 διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ γένος ἀτυχίαν δυσμενῆς ἢ τοῖς νόμοις
 οἱ σώζουσι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, δεύτερον δ' ἀπὸ τῶν προ-
 γόνων εὐεργεσίαν τινὰ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὑπάρχειν,
 ἢ τό γ' ἀναγκαιότατον μηδεμίαν ἔχθραν, ἵνα μὴ βοη-
 θῶν τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἀτυχήμασι κακῶς ἐπιχειρῇ
 ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν. Τρίτον σώφρονα καὶ μέτριον χρὴ 170
 πεφυκέναι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν, δύποις
 μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τῆς δαπάνης δωροδοκῆ κατὰ
 τοῦ δήμου, τέταρτον εὐγνώμονα καὶ δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν·
 καλὸν γὰρ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν προαιρεῖσθαι τὰ βέλ-
 τιστα, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τὸν λόγον
 πείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας· εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν γ' εὐγνωμο-
 σύνην ἀεὶ προτακτέον τοῦ λόγου. Πέμπτον ἀνδρεῖον
 εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν, ἵνα μὴ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοὺς κιν-

δύνους ἐγκαταλίπη τὸν δῆμον. Τὸν δ' ὀλιγαρχικὸν πάντα δεῖ τάναντία τούτων ἔχειν· τί γὰρ δεῖ πάλιν διεξιέναι; Σκέψασθε δὴ τί τούτων ὑπάρχει Δημοσθένει· ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς ἔστω ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις.

171 Τούτῳ πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἀνὴρ ἐλεύθερος (οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ψεύδεσθαι), τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τοῦ πάππου τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς πῶς ἔχει αὐτῷ; Ἐγὼ φράσω. Γύλων ἦν ἐκ Κεραμέων. Οὗτος προδοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις Νύμφαιον τὸ ἐν Πόντῳ, τότε τῆς πόλεως ἔχούσης τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο, φυγὰς ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐγένετο θανάτου καταγνωσθέντος αὐτοῦ, τὴν κρίσιν οὐχ ὑπομείνας, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Βόσπορον, κάκει λαμβάνει δωρεὰν πάρα τῶν τυράννων τοὺς ὡνομασμένους Κήπους, καὶ γαμεῖ γυναῖκα πλουσίαν μὲν νὴ Δία καὶ χρυσίον ἐπιφερομένην πολύ, Σκύθιν δὲ τὸ γένος, ἐξ ἣς γίγνονται αὐτῷ θυγατέρες δύο, ἀς ἐκεῖνος δεῦρο μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀποστείλας συνώκισε τὴν μὲν ἐτέραν ὀτφδήποτε, ἵνα μὴ πολλοῖς ἀπεχθάνωμαι· τὴν δ' ἐτέραν ἔγημε παριδὼν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως νόμους Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἐξ ἣς ὑμῖν ὁ περίεργος καὶ συκοφάντης γεγένηται Δημοσθένης. Οὐκοῦν ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ πάππου τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς πολέμιος ἀν εἴη τῷ δῆμῳ (θάνατον γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῶν προγόνων κατέγνωτε), τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Σκύθης, βάρβαρος ἐλληνίζων τῇ φωνῇ· ὅθεν καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν 173 οὐκ ἐπιχώριός ἔστι. Περὶ δὲ τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν τίς ἔστιν; Ἐκ τριηράρχου λογογράφου ἀνεφάνη, τὰ

πατρῷα καταγελάστως προέμενος· ἅπιστος δὲ καὶ περὶ ταῦτα δόξας εἶναι καὶ τὸν λόγους ἐκφέρων τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα· πλεῦστον δ' ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας εἰληφὼς ἀργύριον ἐλάχιστα περιεποιήσατο. Νῦν μέντοι τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον ἐπικέκλυκε τὴν δαπάνην αὐτοῦ, ἔσται δ' οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ίκανόν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ πώποτε πλοῦτος τρόπου πονηροῦ περιεγένετο. Καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὸν βίον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων προσόδων πορίζεται, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων κινδύνων.

Περὶ δ' εὐγνωμοσύνην καὶ λόγου δύναμιν πᾶς πέ-¹⁷⁴ φυκε; Δεινῶς λέγειν, κακῶς βιῶναι. Οὕτω γὰρ κέχρηται καὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι καὶ παιδοποιίᾳ ὥστ' ἐμὲ μὴ βούλεσθαι λέγειν ἢ τούτῳ πέπρακται. ἦδη γάρ ποτε εἴδον μισηθέντας τοὺς τὰ τῶν πλησίον αἰσχρὰ λίαν σαφῶς λέγοντας. "Επείτα τί συμβαίνει τῇ πόλει; Οἱ μὲν λόγοι καλοί, τὰ δ' ἔργα φαῦλα. Πρὸς δὲ ἀνδρίαν βραχύς μοι λείπεται λόγος. Εἰ¹⁷⁵ μεν γὰρ ἡρνεῖτο μὴ δειλὸς εἶναι ἢ ὑμεῖς μὴ συνήδειτε αὐτῷ, διατριβὴν ὁ λόγος ἂν μοι παρεῖχεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνιστε, λοιπὸν ὑπομνῆσαι τοὺς περὶ τούτων κειμένους νόμους. Ό γὰρ Σόλων, ὁ παλαιὸς νομοθέτης, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις φέτο δεῖν ἐνέχεσθαι τὸν ἀστράτευτον καὶ τὸν λελοιπότα τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὸν δειλὸν ὁμοίως· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ δειλίας γραφαί. Καίτοι θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις ὑμῶν εἰ εἰσὶ φύσεως γραφαί. Εἰσίν. Τίνος ἐνεκα; "Ιν' ἔκαστος ἡμῶν τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημίας φο-

βούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμείνων ἀγωνιστὴς
 176 ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπάρχῃ. Ὁ μὲν τοίνυν νομοθέτης τὸν
 ἀστράτευτον καὶ τὸν δειλὸν καὶ τὸν λιπόντα τὴν
 τάξιν ἔξω τῶν περιρράντηρίων τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔξειργει,
 καὶ οὐκ ἐᾶ στεφανοῦσθαι οὐδ’ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ ίερὰ τὰ
 δημοτελῆ· σὺ δὲ τὸν ἀστεφάνωτον ἐκ τῶν νόμων κε-
 λεύεις ἡμᾶς στεφανοῦν, καὶ τῷ σαυτοῦ ψηφίσματι τὸν
 οὐ προστήκοντα εἰσκαλεῖς τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς εἰς τὴν ὄρχή-
 στραν, εἰς τὸ ίερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν τὰ ίερὰ διὰ δει-
 λίαν προδεδωκότα.

”Ινα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως,
 ἐκεῖνο μέμνησθε ὅταν φῆ δημοτικὸς εἶναι. Θεωρεῖτ'
 αὐτοῦ μὴ τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον, καὶ σκοπεῖτε μὴ
 τίς φησὶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τίς ἔστιν.

177 ”Επεὶ δὲ στεφάνων ἀνεμνήσθην καὶ δωρεῶν, ἔως
 ἔτι μέμνημαι, προλέγω ὑμῖν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἴ
 μὴ καταλύσετε τὰς ἀφθόνους ταύτας δωρεὰς καὶ τοὺς
 εἰκῇ διδομένους στεφάνους, οὕθ’ οἱ τιμώμενοι χάριν
 ὑμῖν εἴσονται οὕτε τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα ἐπα-
 νορθωθήσεται· τοὺς μὲν γάρ πονηροὺς οὐ μή ποτε
 βελτίους ποιήσετε, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην
 ἀθυρίαν ἐμβαλεῖτε. ”Οτι δ’ ἀληθῆ λέγω, μεγάλα
 178 τούτων οἷμαι σημεῖα δείξειν ὑμῖν. Εἰ γάρ τις ὑμᾶς
 ἐρωτήσειε πότερον ὑμῖν ἐνδοξοτέρα δοκεῖ ἡ πόλις εἶναι
 ἐπὶ τῶν νυνὶ καιρῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων, ἀπαντεῖς
 ἀν ὁμολογήσαιτε ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων. ”Ανδρες δὲ
 πότερον τότε ἀμείνους ἥσαν ἢ νυνί; Τότε μὲν διαφέ-

ροντες, νυν δὲ πολλῷ καταδεέστεροι. Δωρεὰν δὲ καὶ στέφανοι καὶ κηρύγματα καὶ σιτήσεις ἐν πρυτανείῳ πότερον τότε ἥσαν πλείους ἢ νυνί; Τότε μὲν ἦν σπάνια τὰ καλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄνομα τίμιον· νῦν δ' ἥδη καταπέπλυται τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τὸ στεφανοῦν ἐξ ἔθους, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας ποιεῖσθε. Οὐκοῦν ἄτοπον οὔτωσὶ διαλογιζομένοις τὰς μὲν δωρεὰς ¹⁷⁹ νῦν πλείους εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως τότε μᾶλλον ἴσχυειν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας νῦν μὲν χείρους εἶναι, τότε δ' ἀμείνους. Ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπιχειρήσω διδάσκειν. Οἴεσθ' ἂν ποτε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐθελῆσαι τινα ἐπασκεῖν εἰς τὰ Ὀλύμπια ἢ εἰς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν στεφανιτῶν ἀγώνων παγκράτιον ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν βαρυτέρων ἀθλῶν, εἰ ὁ στέφανος ἐδίδοτο μὴ τῷ κρατίστῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ; Οὐδεὶς ἂν ποτ' ἥθελησεν ἐπασκεῖν. Νῦν δ' οἷμαι διὰ τὸ σπά- ¹⁸⁰ νιον καὶ τὸ περιμάχητον καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀείμνηστον ἐκ τῆς νίκης ἐθέλουσί τινες τὰ σώματα παρακαταθέμενοι καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ταλαιπωρίας ὑπομείναντες διακινδυνεύειν.

Τπολάβετε τοίνυν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀγωνοθέτας πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς, κάκενο ἐκλογίσασθε, ὅτι ἐὰν μὲν τὰς δωρεὰς ὀλίγοις καὶ ἀξίοις καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διδῶτε, πολλοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἔξετε τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἐὰν δὲ τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ τοῖς διαπραξαμένοις χαρίζησθε, καὶ τὰς ἐπιεικεῖς φύσεις διαφθερεῖτε. Ὅτι δὲ ὄρθως λέγω, ¹⁸¹ ἔτι μικρῷ σαφέστερον ὑμᾶς βούλομαι διδάξαι. Πό-

τερον ὑμῖν ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκεῖ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ στρατηγός τας ὅτ' ἐν τῇ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχίᾳ τὸν Πέρσην ἐνικάτε, ἢ Δημοσθένης ὁ τὴν τάξιν λιπών; Μιλτιάδης δὲ ὁ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην τοὺς βαρβάρους νικήσας, ἢ οὗτος; Ἡτι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες; Ἀριστείδης δ' ὁ δίκαιος ἐπικαλούμενος, ὁ τὴν ἀνόμοιον ἔχων ἐπωνυμίαν Δημοσθένει; Ἀλλ' ἔγωγε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις ἄξιον ἥγοῦμαι μεωνῆσθαι τοῦ θηρίου τούτου κάκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Ἐπιδειξάτω τοίνυν Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ εἴ που γέγραπταί τινα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν στεφανῶσαι. Ἀχάριστος ἄρ' ἦν ὁ δῆμος; Οὔκ, ἀλλὰ μεγαλόφρων, κάκεινοί γε οἱ μὴ τετιμημένοι τῆς πόλεως ἄξιοι· οὐ γὰρ ϕόντο δεῖν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τιμᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων, ἢ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἀθάνατος οὖσα διαμένει. 80 Δωρεὰς δὲ τίνας ἐλάμβαινον; Ὡν ἄξιόν ἔστι μησθῆναι.

183 Ἡσάν τινες, ὡς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ τοὺς τότε καιροὺς οἱ πολὺν πόνον ὑπομείναντες καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι Μήδους· οὗτοι δεῦρο ἀφικόμενοι τὸν δῆμον ἤτησαν δωρεάν, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τιμὰς μεγάλας, ὡς τότ' ἐδόκει, τρεῖς λιθίνους Ἐρμᾶς στήσαι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν Ἐρμῶν, ἐφ' ϕῶτε μὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὰ ὄνόματα τὰ ἑαυτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου

δοκῆ εἶναι ἐπίγραμμα. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἔξι αὐτῶν τῶν ποιημάτων εἴσεσθε. Ἐπιγέγραπται γὰρ ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἐρμῶν,

"*Ἡν ἄρα κάκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἵ ποτε Μήδων Παισὶν ἐπ' Ἡιόνι, Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ροάς, Λιμόν τ' αἴθωνα κρατερόν τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἀρηα Πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εῦρον ἀμηχανίην.*

'Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ,

*'Ηγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τάδ' ἔδωκαν
'Ἄντ' εὐεργεσίης καὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς.
Μᾶλλον τις τάδ' ἴδων καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἐθελήσει
'Ἀμφὶ ξυνοῖσι πράγμασι μόχθον ἔχειν.*

'Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Ἐρμῆ,

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*"Ἐκ ποτε τῆσδε πόληος ἄμ' Ἀτρείδησι Μενεσθεὺς
'Ηγεῖτο ζάθεον Τρωϊκὸν ἀμπεδίον,
"Ον ποθ' Ὁμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα χαλκοχιτώνων
Κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἔξοχον ἄνδρα μολεῖν.
Οὐτως οὐδὲν ἀεικὲς Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι
Κοσμητὰς πολέμου τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ἡνορέης.*

"Ἐστι που τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὄνομα; Οὐδαμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ δήμου.

Προσελθετε δὴ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὴν στοὰν τὴν ποικίλην· ἀπάντων γὰρ ὑμῖν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνάκειται. Τί οὖν ἔστιν,

ω ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃ ἐγὼ λέγω; Ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ γέγραπται. Τίς οὖν ἦν ὁ στρατηγός; Οὐτωσὶ μὲν ἐρωτηθέντες ἀπαντεῖς ἀποκρίναισθε ἂν ὅτι Μιλτιάδης, ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται. Πῶς; Οὐκ ἥτησε τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην; Ἡιτησεν, ἀλλ’ ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ πρώτῳ γραφῆναι, παρακαλοῦντι τοὺς 187 στρατιώτας. Ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Μητρώῳ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἦν ἔδοτε δωρεὰν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσιν, ἔστιν ἵδεν. Ἡν μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας καὶ νικήσας Ἀρχῖνος ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης, εἰς τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον, ἔγραψε δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα δοῦναι χιλίας δραχμάς (καὶ τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἔλαττον ἢ δέκα δραχμαὶ κατ’ ἄνδρα ἔκαστον), ἔπειτα κελεύει στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτῶν ἔκαστον, ἀλλ’ οὐ χρυσῷ· τότε μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ τοῦ θαλλοῦ στέφανος τίμιος, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς καταπεφρόνηται. Καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκῇ πρᾶξαι κελεύει, ἀλλ’ ἀκριβῶς τὴν βουλὴν σκεψαμένην ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Φυλῆς ἐπολιορκήθησαν, ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα προσέβαλλον τοῖς καταλαβοῦσι Φυλήν, οὐχ ὅσοι τὴν τάξιν ἔλιπον ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιόντων. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν τὸ ψήφισμα.

188 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΩΡΕΑΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΠΟ ΦΥΛΗΣ.

Παρανάγνωθι καὶ ὃ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν Δημοσθένει τῷ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτίῳ.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

⁸¹ Τούτῳ τῷ ψηφίσματι ἔξαλείφεται ἡ τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον δωρεά. Εἰ τοῦτ' ἔχει καλῶς, ἐκεῖνο αἰσχρῶς· εἰ ἐκεῖνοι κατ' ἀξίαν ἐτιμήθησαν, οὗτος ἀνάξιος ὢν στεφανοῦται.

Καίτοι πυνθάνομαι γ' αὐτὸν μέλλειν λέγειν ως οὐ¹⁸⁹ δίκαια ποιῶ παραβάλλων αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα· οὐδὲ γὰρ Φιλάμμωνα φήσει τὸν πύκτην Ὄλυμπίασι στεφανωθῆναι νικήσαντα Γλαῦκον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον πύκτην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀγωνιστάς, ὃσπερ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πύκταις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγὼν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς δ' ἀξιοῦσι στεφανοῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἥς καὶ ἐνεκα στεφανοῦνται. Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν κήρυκα ἀφευδεῖν, ὅταν τὴν ἀνάρρησιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ποιῆται πρὸς τοὺς "Ελληνας. Μὴ οὖν ἡμῶν ως Παταικίωνος ἄμεινον πεπολίτευσάι διέξιθι, ἀλλ' ἐφικόμενος τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας οὕτω τὰς χάριτας τὸν δῆμον ἀπαίτει.

"Ινα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως,¹⁹⁰ ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῶν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ὃ ἐπιγέγραπται τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσιν.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

Τούσδ' ἀρετῆς ἐνεκα στεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαιίχθων
Δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, οἵ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκοις
Θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντάς πόλιος πρῶτοι καταπαύειν
² Ἡρξαν, κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι.

191 "Οτι τοὺς παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἄρξαντας κατέλυσαν,
 διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτούς φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς τιμηθῆναι. "Εναυ-
 λον γάρ ἦν τότε πᾶσιν ὅτι τηνικαῦτα ὁ δῆμος κατε-
 λύθη, ἐπειδή τινες τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων ἀνεῖ-
 λον. Καὶ γάρ τοι, ως ἐγὼ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμαυτοῦ
 ἐπυνθάνομην (ὅς ἔτη βιοὺς ἐνειήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἑτε-
 λεύτησεν, ἀπάντων μετασχὼν τῶν πόνων τῇ πόλει),
 ὃς πολλάκις πρὸς ἐμὲ διεξήει ἐπὶ σχολῆς. "Εφη γάρ,
 ὅτε ἀρτίως κατεληλύθει ὁ δῆμος, εἴ τις εἰσίοι γραφὴ
 παρανόμων εἰς δικαστήριον, εἶναι ὅμοιον τὸ ὄνομα καὶ
 192 τὸ ἔργον. Τί γάρ ἐστιν ἀνοσιώτερον ἀνδρὸς παρά-
 νόμα λέγοντος καὶ πράττοντος; Καὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν,
 ως ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλεν, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐποιοῦντο
 ὥσπερ νῦν γίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἡσαν πολὺ χαλεπώτεροι οἱ
 δικασταὶ τοῖς παράνομα γράφουσιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατη-
 γόρου, καὶ πολλάκις ἀνεπόδιξον τὸν γραμματέα καὶ
 ἐκέλευον πάλιν ἀναγιγνώσκειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ ψή-
 φισμα, καὶ ἡλίσκοντο οἱ παράνομα γράφοντες οὐκ εἰ
 πάντας παραπηδήσαιεν τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλ' εἰ μίαν μό-
 νον συλλαβὴν παραλλάξαιεν. Τὸ δὲ νῦν γιγνόμενον
 πρᾶγμα ὑπέρκαταγέλαστόν ἐστιν· ὁ μὲν γάρ γραμ-
 ματεὺς ἀναγιγνώσκει τὸ παράνομον, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ
 ὥσπερ ἐπωδὴν ἢ ἀλλότριον τι πρᾶγμα ἀκροώμενοι
 193 πρὸς ἑτέρω τινὶ τὴν γνώμην ἔχουσιν. "Ηδη δ' ἐκ
 τῶν τεχνῶν τῶν Δημόσθένους αἰσχρὸν ἔθος ἐν τοῖς
 δικαστηρίοις παραδέχεσθε. Μετενήγεκται γὰρ ὑμῖν
 τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια· ὁ μὲν γάρ κατήγορος ἀπολο-

γεῖται, ὁ δὲ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν κατηγορεῖ, οἱ δὲ δικαστὰὶ ἐνίοτε ὡν μέν εἰσι κριταὶ ἐπιλανθάνονται, ὡν δ' οὐκ εἰσὶ δικασταὶ, περὶ τούτων ἀναγκάζονται τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν. Λέγει δὲ ὁ φεύγων, ἐὰν ἄρα ποθ' ἄψηται τοῦ πράγματος, οὐχ ὡς ἔννομα γέγραφεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἥδη ποτὲ καὶ πρότερον ἔτερος τοιαῦτα γράψας ἀπέφυγεν. 'Εφ' ὁ καὶ νυνὶ μέγα φρονεῖν ἀκούω Κτησι-¹⁹⁴ φῶντα, ἐτόλμα δ' ἐν ὑμῖν ποτὲ σεμνύνεσθαι 'Αριστοφῶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ 'Αξηνιεὺς λέγων ὅτι γραφὰς παρανόμων πέφευγεν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε.

'Αλλ' οὐχὶ ὁ Κέφαλος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ δοκῶν δημοτικώτατος γεγονέναι, οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο, λέγων ὅτι πλεῖστα πάντων γεγραφὼς ψηφίσματα οὐδεμίᾳν πώποτε γραφὴν πέφευγε παρανόμων, καλῶς, οἶμαι, σεμνυνόμενος. 'Εγράφοντο γὰρ ἀλλήλους παρανόμων οὐ μόνον οἱ διαπολιτευόμενοι,⁸² ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς φίλους, εἴ τι ἐξαμάρτοιεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. 'Εκεῖθεν δὲ τοῦτο γνώστεσθε. 'Αρχῖνος γὰρ ὁ ἐκ¹⁹⁵ Κοίδης ἐγράψατο παρανόμων Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειρίέα γράψαντά τι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, [στεφανοῦν] ἔνα τῶν συγκατελθόντων αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, καὶ εἰλε νεωστὶ γεγενημένων αὐτῷ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἃς οὐχ ὑπελογίσαντο οἱ δικασταὶ· ἥγοῦντο γάρ, ὡσπερ τότε αὐτοὺς φεύγοντας ἀπὸ Φυλῆς Θρασύβουλος κατήγαγεν, οὕτω νῦν μένοντας ἐξελαύνειν γράφοντά τι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους. 'Αλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τούναντίον γίγνεται¹⁹⁶ οἱ γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ στρατηγοὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τῶν τὰς σιτήσεις

τινὲς εύρημένων ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ ἔξαιτοῦνται τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἀχαρίστους εἶναι δικαίως ἀν υπολαμβάνοιτε· εἰ γάρ τις ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ τετιμημένος, ἐν τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ ἦν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ οἱ νόμοι σώζουσι, τολμᾶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς παράνομα γράφουσι, καταλύει τὴν πολιτείαν ὑφ' ἣς τετίμηται.

197 Τίς οὖν ἀποδέδεικται λόγος ἀνδρὶ δικαίῳ συνηγόρῳ καὶ σώφρονι; Ἐγὼ λέξω. Εἰς τρία μέρη διαιρεῖται ἡ ἡμέρα, ὅταν εἰσίη γραφὴ παρανόμων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. Ἐγχεῖται γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὕδωρ τῷ κατηγόρῳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὕδωρ τῷ τὴν γραφὴν φεύγοντι καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγουσιν· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ ψῆφῳ μὴ λυθῇ τὸ παράνομον, ἥδη τὸ τρίτον ὕδωρ ἐγχεῖται τῇ τιμήσει 198 καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ὄργης τῆς ὑμετέρας. "Οστις μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ τιμήσει τὴν ψῆφον αἴτει, τὴν ὄργην τὴν ὑμετέραν παραιτεῖται· ὅστις δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τὴν ψῆφον αἴτει, ὅρκον αἴτει, νόμον αἴτει, δημοκρατίαν αἴτει, ὃν οὔτε αἴτησαι οὐδὲν ὅσιον οὐδενὶ οὔτ' αἴτηθέντα ἐτέρῳ δοῦναι. Κελεύσατε οὖν αὐτούς, ἐάσαντας ὑμᾶς τὴν πρώτην ψῆφον κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διενεγκεῖν, ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὴν τί- 199 μησιν. "Ολως δ' ἔγωγε, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δλίγου δέω εἰπεῖν ὡς καὶ νόμον δεῖ τεθῆναι ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς μόνον ταῖς παρανόμων, μὴ ἔξεναι μήτε τῷ κατηγόρῳ συνηγόρους παρασχέσθαι μήτε τῷ τὴν γραφὴν τῶν παρανόμων φεύγοντι. Οὐ γὰρ ἀόριστόν ἐστι τὸ δίκαιον, ἀλλ' ὡρισμένον τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ὑμετέροις.

"Ωσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τεκτονικῇ, δόταν εἰδέναι βουλώμεθα 200 τὸ ὄρθον καὶ τὸ μή, τὸν κανόνα προσφέρομεν φῶ διαγνωσκεται, οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ταῖς τῶν παρανόμων παράκειται κανὼν τοῦ δικαίου τουτὶ τὸ σανίδιον καὶ τὸ Φύφισμα καὶ οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι. Ταῦτα συμφωνοῦντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιδείξας κατάβαινε· καὶ τί δεῖ σε Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν; "Οταν δ' ὑπερπηδήσας τὴν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν παρακαλῆσ· κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον καὶ τεχνίτην λόγων, κλέπτεις τὴν ἀκρόασιν, βλάπτεις τὴν πόλιν, καταλύεις τὴν δημοκρατίαν.

Tίς οὖν ἔστιν ἀποτροπὴ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων; 'Εγὼ 201 ἐρῶ. 'Επειδὴν προσελθὼν ἐνταυθοῖ Κτησιφῶν διεξέλθη πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ συντεταγμένον αὐτῷ προοίμιον, ἔπειτ' ἐνδιατρίβῃ καὶ μὴ ἀπολογῆται, ὑπομνήσατ' αὐτὸν ἄνευ θορύβου τὸ σανίδιον λαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς νόμους τῷ ψηφίσματι παραναγνῶναι. 'Εὰν δὲ μὴ προσποιῆται ὑμῶν ἀκούειν, μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἐκείνουν ἐθέλετε ἀκούειν· οὐ γὰρ τῶν φευγόντων τὰς οὐ δικαίας ἀπολογίας εἰσεληλύθατε ἀκροασόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐθελόντων δικαίως ἀπολογεῖσθαι. 'Εὰν δ' ὑπερπηδήσας τὴν 202 δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν Δημοσθένην παρακαλῇ, μάλιστα μὲν μὴ προσδέχεσθε κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον, οἰόμενον ρήμασι τοὺς νόμους ἀναιρήσειν, μηδ' ἐν ἀρετῇ τοῦθ' ὑμῶν μηδεὶς καταλογιζέσθω, ὃς ἀν ἐπανερομένου Κτησιφῶντος εἰ καλέσῃ Δημοσθένην πρῶτος ἀναβοήσῃ κάλει, κάλει. 'Επὶ σαντὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νό-

μους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς. Ἐν δ' ἄρα
νῦν δόξῃ ἀκούειν, ἀξιώσατε τὸν Δημοσθένην τὸν αὐτὸν
τρόπον ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὅνπερ κάγὼ κατηγόρηκα. Ἐγὼ
δὲ πῶς κατηγόρηκα; Ἰνα καὶ ὑπομνήσω νῦν. Οὕτε
τὸν ἴδιον βίον τὸν Δημοσθένους πρότερον διεξῆλθον
οὕτε τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων οὐδενὸς πρότερον ἐμνή-
σθην, ἀφθονα δήπου καὶ πολλὰ ἔχων λέγειν, ἢ πάντων
γ' ἂν εἴην ἀπορώτατος· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς νό-
μους ἐπέδειξα ἀπαγορεύοντας μὴ στεφανοῦν τοὺς ὑπευ-
θύνοντας, ἔπειτα τὸν ρήτορα ἐξήλεγξα γράψαντα Δημο-
σθένην ὑπεύθυνον ὅντα στεφανοῦν οὐδὲν προβαλόμενον,
οὐδὲ προσεγγράψαντα ἐπειδὴν δῷ τὰς εὐθύνας,
ἀλλὰ παντελῶς καὶ νῦν καὶ τῶν νόμων καταπεφρο-
νηκότα· καὶ τὰς ἐσομένας πρὸς ταῦτα προφάσεις
εἰπον, ἃς ἀξιῶ καὶ νῦν διαμνημονεύειν. Δεύτερον δ'
νῦν διεξῆλθον τὸν περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων νόμους, ἐν
οἷς διαρρήδην ἀπείρηται τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανού-
μενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὁ δὲ ρήτωρ
ὁ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν οὐ τὸν νόμους μόνον παραβέ-
βηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναρρήσεως καὶ τὸν
τόπον, κελεύων οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ
τὴν ἀνάρρησιν γίγνεσθαι, οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθη-
ναίων, ἀλλὰ μελλόντων τραγῳδῶν εἰσιέναι. Ταῦτα δ'
εἰπὼν μικρὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἴδιων εἶπον, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα
περὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων λέγω.

Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀξιώσατε ἀπολο-
γεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμον πρῶτον καὶ

τὸν περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ τὸ μέγιστον λέγω, ὡς οὐδὲ ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς δωρεᾶς. Ἐὰν δ' ὑμῶν δέηται συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ λόγου, κατεπαγγελλόμενος ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς ἀπολογίας λύσει τὸ παράνομον, μὴ συγχωρεῖτε, μηδ' ἀγνοεῖθ' ὅτι πάλαισμα τοῦτο ἐστὶ δικαστηρίου· οὐ γὰρ εἰσαῦθις ποτε βούλεται πρὸς τὸ παράνομον ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔχων δίκαιον εἰπεῖν ἐτέρων παρεμβολῆς πράγμάτων εἰς λήθην ὑμᾶς βούλεται τῆς κατηγορίας ἐμβαλεῖν. "Ωσπερ οὖν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ²⁰⁶ ἀγῶσιν ὁρᾶτε τοὺς πύκτας περὶ τῆς στάσεως ἀλλήλοις διαγωνιζομένους, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως περὶ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου μάχεσθε, καὶ μὴ ἔστε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς ἔξω τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους περιίστασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες ἐν τῇ ἀκροάσει εἰσελαύνετε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ πράγματος λόγους, καὶ τὰς ἐκτροπὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἐπιτηρεῖτε. 'Αλλ' ἂ δὴ συμβήσεται ὑμῖν, ἐὰν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ²⁰⁷ τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιῆσθε, ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἥδη δίκαιός εἰμι προειπεῖν. 'Επεισάξει γὰρ τὸν γόητα καὶ βαλαντιότομον καὶ διατετμηκότα τὴν πολιτείαν. Οὗτος κλάει μὲν ράον ἢ ἄλλοι γελῶσιν, ἐπιορκεῖ δὲ πάντων προχειρότατα· οὐκ ἀν θαυμάσαιμι δὲ εἰ μεταβαλλόμενος τοῖς ἔξω περιεστηκόσι λοιδορήσεται, φάσκων τοὺς μὲν ὀλυγαρχικοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας διηριθμημένους ἥκειν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κατηγόρου βῆμα, τὸν δὲ δημοτικὸν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ φεύγοντος. "Οταν δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγῃ, ²⁰⁸

πρὸς μὲν τοὺς στασιαστικοὺς λόγους ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε, ὅτι ὡς Δημόσθενες, εἰ σοὶ ἦσαν ὅμοιοι οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγάγοντες, οὐκ ἂν ποθ' ἡ δημοκρατία κατέστη. Νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν μεγάλων κακῶν συμβάντων ἔσωσαν τὴν πόλιν τὸ κάλλιστον ἐκ παιδείας ρήμα φθεγξάμενοι, Μὴ μνησικακεῖν· σὺ δὲ ἐλκοποιεῖς, καὶ μᾶλλον σοι μέλει τῶν αὐθημερὸν λόγων ἢ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως. "Οταν δ' ἐπίορκος ὃν εἴς τὴν διὰ τῶν ὅρκων πίστιν καταφυγάνῃ, ἐκεῖνο ἀπομνημονεύσατε αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῷ πολλάκις μὲν ἐπίορκοῦντι, ἀεὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς μεθ' ὅρκων ἀξιοῦντι πιστεύεσθαι δυοῖν θάτερον ὑπάρξαι δεῖ, ὃν οὐδέτερόν ἔστι Δημοσθένει ὑπάρχον, ἢ τοὺς θεοὺς καινοὺς ἢ τοὺς ἀκροατὰς μὴ τοὺς αὐτούς.

209 Περὶ δὲ τῶν δακρύων καὶ τοῦ τόνου τῆς φωνῆς, ὅταν ὑμᾶς ἐπερωτᾶ, ποῖ καταφύγω, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; Περιγράψατέ με ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας· οὐκ ἔστιν ὅποι ἀναπτήσομαι, ἀνθυποβάλλετε 24 αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ποῖ καταφύγη, Δημόσθενες; Πρὸς ποίαν συμμάχων παρασκευήν; Πρὸς ποῖα χρήματα; Τί προβαλλόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πεπολίτευσαι; "Α μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ βεβούλευσαι, ἀπαντεις ὄρῳ μεν. Ἐκλιπὼν μὲν τὸ ἄστυ οὐκ οἰκεῖς, ως δοκεῖς, ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐξορμεῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἐφόδια δὲ πεπόρισαι τῇ σαυ-

τοῦ ἀνανδρίᾳ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον καὶ τὰ δημόσια δωροδοκήματα. "Ολως δὲ τί τὰ δάκρυα; 210
 Τίς ἡ κραυγή; Τίς ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς; Οὐχ ὁ μὲν τὴν γραφὴν φεύγων ἐστὶ Κτησιφῶν, ὁ δ' ἀγὼν οὐκ ἀτίμητος, σὺ δ' οὔτε περὶ τῆς οὐσίας οὔτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀγωνίζῃ; 'Αλλὰ περὶ τίνος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ σπουδή; Περὶ χρυσῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους· ὃν ἔχρην, εἰ καὶ μανεῖς ὁ δῆμος ἢ τῶν καθε- 211 στηκότων ἐπιλελησμένος ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἀκαιρίας ἐβούλετο στεφανοῦν αὐτόν, παρελθόντα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰπεῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μὲν στέφανον δέχομαι, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν ἀποδοκιμάζω ἐνῷ τὸ κήρυγμα γίγνεται· οὐ γάρ δεῖ ἐφ' οἷς ἡ πόλις ἐπένθησε καὶ ἐκείρατο, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐμὲ στεφανοῦσθαι. 'Αλλ' οἶμαι, ταῦτα μὲν ἀν εἴποι ἀνὴρ ὅντως βεβιωκὼς μετ' ἀρετῆς· ἂ δὲ σὺ λέξεις, εἴποι ἀν κάθαρμα ξηλοτυποῦν ἀρετήν. Οὐ γὰρ 212 δὴ μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῦτό γε ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς φοβηθήσεται, μὴ δὲ Δημοσθένης, ἀνὴρ μεγαλόψυχος καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ διαφέρων, ἀποτυχὼν τῶν ἀριστείων οἴκαδε ἐπανελθὼν ἑαυτὸν διαχρήσηται· ὃς τοσοῦτον καταγελᾶ τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίας ὥστε τὴν μιάραν κεφαλὴν ταύτην καὶ ὑπεύθυνον, ἦν οὗτος παρὰ πάντας τοὺς νόμους γέγραφε στεφανῶσαι, μυριάκις κατατέτμηκε καὶ τούτων μισθοὺς εἴληφε τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας γραφὰς γραφόμενος, καὶ κατακεκονδύλισται, ὥστε αὐτὸν οἶμαι

τὰ τῶν κουδύλων ἵχνη τῶν Μειδίου ἔχειν ἔτι φανερά· ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος οὐ κεφαλήν, ἀλλὰ πρόσοδον κέκτηται.

213 Περὶ δὲ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν γνώμην βραχέα βούλομαι εἰπεῖν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ ὑπερβήσομαι, ἵνα καὶ πεῖραν ὑμῶν λάβω, εἰ δύνασθε τοὺς σφόδρα πονηρούς, καν μή τις προείπῃ, διαγιγνώσκειν· ὃ δ’ ἐστὶ κοινὸν καὶ δίκαιον κατ’ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τοῦτ’ ἐρῶ. Περιέρχονται γὰρ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀληθεῖς κατ’ ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες δόξας καὶ λόγους 214 οὐ ψευδεῖς λέγοντες. ‘Ο μὲν γὰρ Κτησιφῶν οὐ τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτόν φησι φοβεῖσθαι, ἐλπίζειν γὰρ δόξειν ἴδιωτης εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δωροδοκίαν φησὶ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐμπληξίαν καὶ δειλίαν· ὃ δὲ Δημοσθένης εἰς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀποβλέπων θαρρεῖν φησίν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Κτησιφῶντος πονηρίαν καὶ πορνοβοσκίαν ἰσχυρῶς δεδιέναι. Τοὺς δὴ κατεγνωκότας ἀλλήλων ἀδικεῖν μηδαμῶς ὑμεῖς οἱ κοινοὶ κριταὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολύσητε.

215 Περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰς ἐμαυτὸν λοιδοριῶν βραχέα βούλομαι προειπεῖν. Πυνθάνομαι γὰρ λέξειν Δημοσθένην ὡς ἡ πόλις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ μὲν ὡφέληται πολλά, ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ δὲ καταβέβλαπται, καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τούτων αἰτίας ἀνοίσειν ἐπ’ ἐμέ. Οὔτω γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς ἔοικε, δεινὸς δημιουργὸς λόγων ὥστε οὐκ ἀπόχρη ἀυτῷ, εἴ τι πεπολίτευμαὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ἢ εἴ 216 τινας δημηγορίας ἔρηκα, τούτων κατηγορεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν μου τοῦ βίου διαβάλλει καὶ τῆς σιωπῆς

μου κατηγορεῖ, ὡνα μηδεὶς αὐτῷ τόπος ἀσυκοφάντητος παραλείπηται, καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις μετὰ τῶν νεωτέρων μου διατριβὰς καταμέμφεται, καὶ κατὰ τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου φέρει τινὰ αἰτίαν, λέγων ως ἐγὼ τὴν γραφὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἔγραψάμην, ἀλλ’ ἐνδεικνύμενος Ἀλέξανδρῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν. Καὶ νὴ Δι’, ως ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι,²¹⁷ μέλλει με ἀνερωτᾶν διὰ τί τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ ψέγω, τὰ δὲ καθ’ ἕκαστον οὐκ ἐκώλυνον οὐδ’ ἔγραφόμην, ἀλλὰ διαλιπὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ πυκνὰ προσιὼν ἀπήνεγκα τὴν γραφήν. Ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε τὰς Δημοσθένους διατριβὰς ἔζηλωκα, οὔτ’ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐμαυτοῦ αἰσχύνομαι, οὔτε τοὺς εἰρημένους ἐν ὑμῖν λόγους ἐμαυτῷ ἀρρήτους εἶναι βουλοίμην, οὔτε τὰ αὐτὰ τούτῳ δημηγορήσας ἐδεξάμην ἀν ζῆν. Τὴν δ’ ἐμὴν²¹⁸ σιωπὴν, ὡς Δημόσθενες, ἡ τοῦ βίου μετριότης παρεσκεύασεν ἀρκεῖ γάρ μοι μικρὰ καὶ μειζόνων αἰσχρῶς οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶ, ὥστε καὶ σιγῶ καὶ λέγω βουλευσάμενος, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει δαπάνης. Σὺ δ’, οἶμαι, λαβὼν μὲν σεσίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας. Λέγεις δὲ οὐχ ὅπόταν σοι δοκῇ οὐδ’ ἀ βούλει, ἀλλ’ ὅπόταν οἱ μισθοδόται σοι προστάττωσιν· οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ δὲ ἀλαζονευόμενος ἀ παραχρῆμα ἐξελέγχῃ ψευδόμενος. Ἀπηνέχθη γάρ ἡ κατὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ψη-²¹⁹ φίσματος γραφή, ἦν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐνδείξεώς με φῆς ἀπενεγκεῖν, ἔτι Φιλίππου ζῶντος, πρὶν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν

καταστῆναι, οὐπώ σοῦ τὸ περὶ Παυσανίαν ἐνύπνιον ἔωρακότος οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὴν Ἡραν νύκτωρ διειλεγμένου. Πῶς ἀν οὖν ἐγὼ προενεδεικνύμην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, εἴ γε μὴ ταῦτὸ ἐνύπνιον ἐγὼ καὶ Δημοσθένης εἴδομεν;

220 'Επιτιμᾶς δέ μοι εἴ μὴ συνεχῶς, ἀλλὰ διαλείπων πρὸς τὸν δῆμον προσέρχομαι, καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ταύτην οἵει λανθάνειν ἡμᾶς μεταφέρων οὐκ ἐκ δημοκρατίας, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑτέρας πολιτείας. 'Εν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις οὐχ ὁ βουλόμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ δυναστεύων κατηγορεῖ, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ. Καὶ τὸ μὲν διὰ χρόνου λέγειν σημεῖόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἄνδρὸς πολιτευομένου, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν πάραλείπειν ἡμέραν ἐργαζομένου καὶ 221 μισθαρνοῦντος. 'Τπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μήπω κεκρίσθαι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τιμωρίαν ὑποσχεῖν, ὅταν καταφεύγῃς ἐπὶ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους, ἢ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐπιλήσμονας ὑπολαμβάνεις ἢ σαυτὸν παραλογίζῃ. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας ἡσεβημένα σοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὔβοιαν δωροδοκηθέντα, χρόνων ἐγγεγενημένων ἐν οἷς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ φανερῶς ἐξηλέγχου, ἵσως ἐλπίζεις τὸν δῆμον ἀμνημονεῖν· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους ἀρπάγματα τίς ἀν ἀποκρύψαι χρόνος δύναιτ' ἄν, ὅτε νομοθετήσας περὶ τῶν τριακοσίων νεῶν, καὶ σαυτὸν πείσας Ἀθηναίους ἐπιστάτην τάξαι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐξηλέγχθης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξήκοντα καὶ πέντε νεῶν ταχυναυτουσῶν τριηράρχους ὑφηρημένος, πλεῖον τῆς

πόλεως ἀφανίζων ναυτικὸν ἢ ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐν Νάξῳ ναυμαχίᾳν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Πόλλιν ἐνίκησαν; Οὕτω δὲ ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνέφραξας τὰς κατὰ σαυτοῦ τι- 223 μωρίας ὡστε τὸν κίνδυνον εἶναι μὴ σοὶ τῷ ἀδικήσαντι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπεξιοῦσι, πολὺν μὲν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐν ταῖς διαβολαῖς φέρων, αἰτιώμενός δέ τινας ἐμποδίζειν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως καιρούς, ἀεὶ τὸ παρὸν λυμαινόμενος, τὸ δὲ μέλλον κατεπαγγελλόμενος. Οὐ 224 τὸ τελευταῖον εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι μέλλων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν Ἀναξίνου σύλληψιν τοῦ Ὀρείτου κατεσκεύασας, τοῦ τὰ ἀγοράσματα Ὀλυμπιάδι ἀγοράζοντος, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα διεστρέβλωσας τῇ σαυτοῦ χειρὶ γράψας αὐτὸν θανάτῳ ζημιώσαι, καὶ παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν Ὀρεῷ κατήγου, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τραπέζης ἔφαγες καὶ ἔπιες καὶ ἔσπεισας, καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλες ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξένον ποιούμενος, καὶ τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινας; Καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν ἅπασιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐξελεγχθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ κληθεὶς ξενοκτόνος οὐ τὸ ἀσέβημα ἡρυήσω, ἀλλ' ἀπεκρίνω ἐφ' ὃ ἀνεβόησεν ὁ δῆμος καὶ ὅσοι ξένοι περιέστασαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ἔφησθα γὰρ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἄλλας περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τῆς ξενικῆς τραπέζης.

86 Ἐπιστολὰς δὲ σιγῶ φευδεῖς καὶ κατασκόπων συλ- 225 λήψεις καὶ βασάνους ἐπ' αἰτίαις ἀγενήτοις, ὡς ἐμοῦ μετά τινων ἐν τῇ πόλει νεωτερίζειν βουλομένου. Ἐπει- τα ἐπερωτᾶν με, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, μελλει, τίς ἀν εἴη τοιοῦτος ἰατρὸς ὅστις τῷ νοσοῦντι μεταξὺ μὲν ἀσθε- νοῦντι μηδὲν συμβουλεύοι, τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐλθὼν

εἰς τὰ ἔνατα διεξίοι πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἢ ἐπιτηδεύσας
 226 ὑγιῆς ἀν ἐγένετο. Σαυτὸν δ' οὐκ ἀντερωτᾶς, τίς ἀν
 εἴη δημαγωγὸς τοιοῦτος δστις τὸν μὲν δῆμον θωπεῦσαι
 δύναιτο, τοὺς δὲ καιροὺς ἐν οἷς ἦν σώζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν
 ἀποδοῖτο, τοὺς δ' εὑ φρονοῦντας κωλύοι διαβάλλων
 συμβουλεύειν, ἀποδρὰς δ' ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τὴν πό-
 λιν ἀνηκέστοις κακοῖς περιβαλλὼν ἀξιοῖ στεφανοῦσθαι
 ἐπ' ἀρετῇ, ἀγαθὸν μὲν πεποιηκὼς μηδέν, πάντων δὲ
 τῶν κακῶν αἵτιος γεγονώς, ἐπερωτώη δὲ τοὺς συκοφαν-
 τηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῶν καιρῶν δτ'
 ἐνήν σώζεσθαι, διὰ τί αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐκώλυσαν ἔξαμαρτά-
 227 νειν; Ἐποκρύπτοιτο δὲ τὸ πάντων τελευταῖον, ὅτι
 τῆς μάχης ἐπιγενομένης οὐκ ἐσχολάζομεν περὶ τὴν σὴν
 εἶναι τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως
 ἐπρεσβεύομεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέχρη σοι δίκην μὴ
 δεδωκέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεὰς αἵτεις καταγέλαστον ἐν
 τοῖς "Ελλησι τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν, ἐνταῦθ' ἐνέστην καὶ τὴν
 γραφὴν ἀπήνεγκα.

228 Καὶ νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους, ὡν ἐγὼ πυνθά-
 νομαι Δημοσθένην λέξειν, ἐφ' ὃ νυνὶ μέλλω λέγειν
 ἀγανακτῷ μάλιστα. Ἐφομοιοῖ γάρ μου τὴν φύσιν
 ταῖς Σειρῆσιν, ὡς ἔοικε. Καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνων οὐ κη-
 λεῖσθαι φησὶ τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, ἀλλ' ἀπόλλυσθαι,
 διόπερ οὐδ' εὔδοκιμεῦν τὴν τῶν Σειρήνων μουσικήν·
 καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὴν
 φύσιν μου γεγενῆσθαι ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν ἀκουόντων.
 Καίτοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ὅλως μὲν ἔγωγε οὐδενὶ πρέ-

πειν ἡγοῦμαι περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν (τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας αἰσχρὸν τὸν αἰτιώμενόν ἔστι τὸ ἔργον μὴ ἔχειν ἐπιδεῖξαι), εἰ 229 δ' ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ρήθηναι, οὐ Δημοσθένους ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς στρατηγού μεγάλα μὲν τὴν πόλιν κατειργασμένου, λέγειν δὲ ἀδυνάτου καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀντιδίκων διὰ τοῦτο ἐζηλωκότος φύσιν, ὅτι σύνοιδεν ἔαυτῷ μὲν οὐδὲν ὥν διαπέπρακται δυναμένῳ φράσαι, τὸν δὲ κατήγορον ὄρᾳ δυνάμενον καὶ τὰ μὴ πεπραγμένα ὑφ' αὐτοῦ παριστάναι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὡς διώκηκεν. "Οταν δ' ἔξ ὀνομάτων συγκείμενος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τούτων πικρῶν καὶ περιέργων, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὰ ἔργα καταφεύγῃ, τίς ἀν ἀνάσχοιτο; Οὐ τὴν γλωτταν ὥσπερ τῶν αὐλῶν ἔάν τις ἀφέλη, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδέν 230 ἔστιν.

Θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε ὑμῶν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ 230 ξητῷ πρὸς τί ἀν ἀποβλέποντες ἀποψηφίσαισθε τὴν γραφήν. Πότερ' ὡς τὸ ψήφισμά ἔστιν ἔννομον; Ἀλλ' οὐδεμία πώποτε γνώμη παρανομωτέρα γεγένηται. Ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας οὐκ ἐπιτήδειός ἔστι δίκην δοῦναι; Οὐκ ἄρ' εἰσὶ παρ' ὑμῖν εὐθῦναι βίου, εἰ τοῦτον ἀφήσετε. Ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐ λυπηρόν, εἰ πρότερον μὲν ἐνεπίμπλατο ἡ ὄρχήστρα χρυσῶν στεφάνων οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφανοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διὰ τὸ ξενικοῖς στεφάνοις ταύτην ἀποδεδόσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀστεφάνωτοι καὶ ἀκήρυκτοι γίγνεσθε, οὗτος δὲ κηρυχθήσεται; Καὶ εἰ μέν τις τῶν τραγικῶν ποιητῶν τῶν 231 μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεισαγόντων ποιήσειεν ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τὸν

Θερσίτην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στεφανούμενον, οὐδεὶς ἀν
ὑμῶν ὑπομείνειεν, ὅτι φησὶν "Ομηρος ἄνανδρον αὐτὸν
εἶναι καὶ συκοφάντην· αὐτὸὶ δ' ὅταν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄν-
θρωπον στεφανώτε, οὐκ οἴεσθε ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
δόξαις συρίττεσθαι; Οἱ μὲν γὰρ πατέρες ὑμῶν τὰ
ἔνδοξα καὶ λαμπρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνετίθεσαν τῷ
δῆμῳ, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ καὶ καταδεέστερα εἰς τοὺς ρήτο-
ρας τοὺς φαύλους ἔτρεπον· Κτησιφῶν δ' ὑμᾶς οἴεται
δεῖν ἀφελόντας τὴν ἀδοξίαν ἀπὸ Δημοσθένους περι-
232 θεῖναι τῷ δῆμῳ. Καὶ φατὲ μὲν εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι, ὡς καὶ
ἐστὲ καλῶς ποιοῦντες, ψηφιεῖσθε δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς τύχης 87
ἐγκαταλελεῖφθαι, ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους δὲ εὖ πεπονθέναι;
Καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀτοπώτατον, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικαστη-
ρίοις τοὺς μὲν τὰς τῶν δώρων γραφὰς ἀλισκομένους
ἀτιμοῦτε, ὃν δ' αὐτὸὶ μισθοῦ πολιτευόμενον σύνιστε,
στεφανώσετε; Καὶ τοὺς μὲν κριτὰς τοὺς ἐκ Διουν-
σίων, ἐὰν μὴ δικαιώσ τοὺς κυκλίους χοροὺς κρίνωσι,
ζημιοῦτε· αὐτὸὶ δὲ οὐ κυκλίων χορῶν κριταὶ καθεστη-
κότες, ἀλλὰ νόμων καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς, τὰς δωρεὰς
οὐ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους οὐδὲ ὀλίγοις καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις, ἀλλὰ
233 τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ δώσετε; "Επειτ' ἔξεισιν ἐκ τοῦ
δικαστηρίου ὁ τοιοῦτος κριτὴς ἔαυτὸν μὲν ἀσθενῆ
πεποιηκώς, ἵσχυρὸν δὲ τὸν ρήτορα. 'Ανὴρ γὰρ ἴδιώ-
της ἐν πόλει δημοκρατουμένῃ νόμῳ καὶ ψήφῳ βασι-
λεύει· ὅταν δ' ἐτέρῳ ταῦτα παραδῷ, καταλέλυκε τὴν
αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ δυναστείαν. "Επειθ' ὁ μὲν ὄρκος, ὃν ὁμω-
μοκὼς δικάζει, συμπαρακολουθῶν αὐτὸν λυπεῖ (δι' αὐτὸν

γάρ, οἶμαι, γέγονε τὸ ἀμάρτημα), ή δὲ χάρις πρὸς ὃν ἔχαρίζετο ἄδηλος γεγένηται· η̄ γὰρ ψῆφος ἀφανῆς φέρεται.

Δοκοῦμεν δ' ἔμοιγε, ω̄ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀμφότερα 234 καὶ κατορθοῦν καὶ παρακινδυνεύειν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ σωφρονοῦντες. "Οτι μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν νῦν καιρῶν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς δλίγοις προτεσθε τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἴσχυρά, οὐκ ἐπαινῶ· ὅτι δ' οὐ γεγένηται φορὰ καθ' ἥμᾶς ῥητόρων πουηρῶν ἄμα καὶ τολμηρῶν, εὐτυχοῦμεν. Πρότερον μὲν γὰρ τοιαύτας φύσεις ἤνεγκε τὸ δημόσιον, ἀλλὰ δίδιώς οὔτω κατέλυσαν τὸν δῆμον· ἔχαιρε γὰρ κολακευόμενος. "Επειτ' αὐτὸν οὐχ οὖς ἐφοβεῖτο, ἀλλ' οἵς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεχείριζε, κατέλυσαν· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ 235 τῶν τριάκοντα ἐγένοντο, οἱ πλείους ἡ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν πρὶν τὰς αἰτίας ἀκοῦσαι ἐφ' αἷς ἔμελλον ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς καὶ ἐκφορὰς τῶν τελευτησάντων εἴων τοὺς προσήκοντας παραγίγνεσθαι. Οὐχ ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς ἔξετε τοὺς πολιτευομένους; Οὐ ταπεινώσαντες ἀποπέμψετε τοὺς νῦν ἐπηρμένους; Οὐ μέμνησθε ὅτι οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐπέθετο πρότερον δήμου καταλύσει, πρὶν ἀν μεῖζον τῶν δικαστηρίων ἴσχυσῃ;

'Ηδέως δ' ἀν ἔγωγε, ω̄ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐναντίον 236 ὑμῶν ἀναλογισαίμην πρὸς τὸν γράψαντα τὸ ψῆφισμα, διὰ ποίας εὐεργεσίας ἀξιοῖ Δημοσθένην στέφανωσαι. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ λέγεις (ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐποιήσω), ὅτι τὰς τάφρους τὰς περὶ τὰ τείχη καλῶς

ἐτάφρευσε, θαυμάζω σου. Τοῦ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐξειργάσθαι καλῶς τὸ γεγενῆσθαι τούτων αἴτιον μείζω κατηγορίαν ἔχει· οὐ γὰρ περιχαρακώσαντα χρὴ τὰ τείχη οὐδὲ τὰς δημοσίας ταφὰς ἀνέλόντα τὸν ὄρθως πεπολιτευμένον δωρεὰς αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοῦ τινος αἴτιον γεγενημένον τῇ 237 πόλει. Εἰ δὲ ἥξεις ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον μέρος τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ἐνῷ τετόλμηκας ὑγράφειν ὡς ἔστιν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ διατελεῖ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀφελὼν τὴν ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τὸν κόμπον τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἄψαι τῶν ἔργων, ἐπίδειξον ἡμῖν ὅ τι λέγεις. Τὰς μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας καὶ τοὺς Εὐβοέας δωροδοκίας παραλείπω· ὅταν δὲ τῆς πρὸς Θηβαίους συμμαχίας τὰς αἰτίας ἀνατιθῆς Δημοσθένει, τοὺς μὲν ἀγνοοῦντας ἐξαπατᾶς, τοὺς δ' εἰδότας καὶ αἰσθανομένους ὑβρίζεις. Ἀφελὼν γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν τούτων, δι' ἣν ἐγένετο ἡ συμμαχία, λανθάνειν οἵει ἡμᾶς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξιώμα Δημοσθένει 238 περιτιθείς. Ἡλίκον δ' ἔστὶ τὸ ἀλαζόνευμα τοῦτο, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι μεγάλῳ σημείῳ διδάξαι. Ὁ γὰρ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον χρόνῳ πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατέπεμψε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μάλα ὑβριστικὴν καὶ βάρβαρον ἐπιστολήν, ἐνῷ τά τε δὴ ἄλλα καὶ μάλ' ἀπαιδεύτως διελέχθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐνέγραψεν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, ἐγώ, φησιν, 239 ὑμῖν χρυσίον οὐ δώσω· μή με αἰτεῖτε· οὐ γὰρ λήψεσθε. Οὗτος μέντοι ὁ αὐτὸς ἐγκαταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων αὐτῷ κινδύνων, οὐκ αἰ-

τούντων Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὸς ἐκὼν κατέπεμψε τριάκοσια τάλαντα τῷ δῆμῳ, ἃ σωφρονῶν ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἔδεξετο. Ὁ δὲ κομίζων ἦν τὸ χρυσίον καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεία συμμάχων. Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων συμμαχίαν ἔξειργάζετο. Σὺ δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ὄνομα καὶ τὸ τῆς δυστυχεστάτης συμμαχίας ἐνοχλεῖς ἀεὶ λέγων, τὰ δ' ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα ὑποσιωπᾶς ἢ προλαβὼν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ χρυσίου ἀπεστέρησας. Οὐ 240 δι' ἔνδειαν μὲν χρημάτων ἔνεκα πέντε ταλάντων οἱ ξένοι τοῖς Θηβαίοις τὴν ἄκραν οὐ παρέδοσαν; Διὰ δὲ ἐννέα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πάντων Ἀρκάδων ἔξειληλυθότων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐτοίμων ὄντων βοηθεῖν ἡ πρᾶξις οὐ γεγένηται; Σὺ δὲ πλούτεις καὶ ταῖς ἥδοναῖς ταῖς σαυτοῦ χορηγεῖς. Καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὸ μὲν βασιλικὸν χρυσίον παρὰ τούτῳ, οἱ δὲ κίνδυνοι παρ' ὑμῖν.

"Ἄξιον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν αὐτῶν θεωρῆσαι. 241 Εἴ γὰρ τολμήσει Κτησιφῶν μὲν Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν λέξοντα εἰς ὑμᾶς, οὗτος δ' ἀναβὰς ἐαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάσει, βαρύτερον τῶν ἔργων ὡν πεπόνθατε τὸ ἀκρόαμα γίγνεται. "Οπου γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ὄντως ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς, οἷς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ σύνισμεν ἔργα, ἐὰν τοὺς καθ' ἐαυτῶν ἐπαίνους λέγωσιν, οὐ φέρομεν· ὅταν δὲ ἄνθρωπος αἰσχύνη τῆς πόλεως γεγονὼς ἐαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζῃ, τίς ἀν τὰ τοιαῦτα καρτερήσειεν ἀκούων;

'Απὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀναισχύντου πραγματείας, ἐὰν 242 σωφρονῆς, ἀποστήση, ποίησαι δέ, ὡς Κτησιφῶν, διὰ σαυτοῦ τὴν ἀπολογίαν. Οὐ γὰρ δή που τοῦτό γε σκή-

ψη, ώς οὐ δυνατὸς εἶ λέγειν. Καὶ γὰρ ἀν ἄτοπον σοι συμβαίνοι, εἰ πρώην μέν ποθ' ὑπέμεινας πρεσβευτὴς ὡς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Φιλίππου θυγατέρα χειροτονεῖσθαι συναχθεσθησόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Μολοττῶν βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῇ, νυνὶ δὲ οὐ φήσεις δύνασθαι λέγειν. Ἐπειτα γυναικα μὲν ἀλλοτρίαν πενθοῦσαν δύνασαι παραμυθεῖσθαι, γράψας δὲ μισθοῦ ψήφισμα οὐκ ἀπολογήσῃ; Ἡ τοιοῦτος ἔστιν ὃν γέγραφας στεφανοῦσθαι, οἷος μὴ γιγνώσκεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων, ἀν μή τις σοι συνείπῃ; Ἐπερώτησον δὴ τοὺς δικαστὰς εἰ ἐγίγνωσκον Χαβρίαν καὶ Ἰφικράτην καὶ Τιμόθεον, καὶ πυθοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν διὰ τί τὰς δωρεὰς αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἔστησαν. Ἀπαντεῖς γὰρ ἂμα σοι ἀποκρινοῦνται ὅτι Χαβρίᾳ μὲν διὰ τὴν περὶ Νάξου ναυμαχίαν, Ἰφικράτει δὲ ὅτι μόραν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπέκτεινε, Τιμοθέῳ δὲ διὰ τὸν περίπλοον τὸν εἰς Κέρκυραν, καὶ ἄλλοις, ὃν ἐκάστῳ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργα πέπρακται. Δημοσθένει δ' ἀντεροῦ διὰ τί δώσετε; Ὁτι δωροδόκος, ὅτι δειλός, ὅτι τὴν τάξιν ἔλιπε. Καὶ πότερον τούτον τιμήσετε, ή ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀτιμώσετε καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτήσαντας; Οὓς νομίσαθ' ὄρāν σχετλιάζοντας εἰ οὗτος στεφανωθήσεται. Καὶ γὰρ ἀν εἴη δεινόν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὰ μὲν ἔνδια καὶ τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὸν σίδηρον, τὰ ἄφωνα καὶ ἀγνώμονα, ἐάν τῳ ἐμπέσοντα ἀποκτείνῃ, ὑπερορίζομεν, καὶ εάν τις αὐτὸν διαχρήσηται, τὴν χειρὰ τὴν τοῦτο πράξασαν χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος θάπτομεν, Δημοσθένην

δέ, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν γράψαντα μὲν τὴν πανυστάτην
ἔξοδον, προδόντα δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας, τοῦτον ὑμεῖς
τιμήσετε. Οὐκοῦν ὑβρίζονται μὲν οἱ τελευτήσαντες,
ἀθυμότεροι δὲ οἱ ζῶντες γίγνονται ὄρωντες τῆς ἀρετῆς
ἀθλον τὸν θάνατον κείμενον, τὴν δὲ μνήμην ἐπιλεί-
πουσαν. Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐὰν ἐπερωτῶσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ νεώ-
τεροι πρὸς ποῖον χρὴ παράδειγμα αὐτοὺς τὸν βίον
ποιεῖσθαι, τί κρινεῖτε; Εὖ γὰρ ἵστε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθη-²⁴⁶
ναῖοι, ὅτι οὐχ αἱ παλαιστραι οὐδὲ τὰ διδασκαλεῖα οὐδ'
ἡ μουσικὴ μόνον παιδεύει τοὺς νεωτέρους, ἀλλὰ πολὺ²⁴⁹
μᾶλλον τὰ δημόσια κηρύγματα. Κηρύττεται τις ἐν
τῷ θεάτρῳ ὅτι στεφανοῦται ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγα-
θίας καὶ εὐνοίας ἄνθρωπος ἀσχήμων ὃν τῷ βίῳ καὶ
βδελυρός· ὁ δέ γε νεώτερος ταῦτ' ἴδων διεφθάρη. Δί-
κην τις δέδωκε πονήρος καὶ πορνοβοσκὸς ὥσπερ Κτη-
σιφῶν· οἱ δέ γε ἄλλοι πεπαιδεύνται. Τάναντία τις
ψηφισάμενος τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων ἐπανελθὼν οἴκαδε
παιδεύει τὸν νίόν· ὁ δέ γε εἰκότως οὐ πείθεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ
νουθετεῖν ἐνοχλεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἥδη δικαίως ὀνομάζεται.

‘Ως οὖν μὴ μόνον κρίνοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεωρούμενοι,²⁴⁷
οὔτω τὴν ψῆφον φέρετε, εἰς ἀπολογισμὸν τοῖς νῦν μὲν
οὐ παροῦσι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐπερησομένοις δὲ ὑμᾶς τί²⁴⁸
ἐδικάζετε. Εὖ γὰρ ἵστε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι τοι-
αύτη δόξει ἡ πόλις εἶναι, δποῖός τις ἀν ἦ ὁ κηρυττό-
μενος· ἔστι δὲ ὅνειδος μὴ τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ
τῇ Δημοσθένους ἀνανδρίᾳ προσεικασθῆναι. Πῶς οὖν
ἄν τις τὴν τοιαύτην αἰσχύνην ἐκφύγοι; ’Εὰν τοὺς²⁴⁸

προκαταλαμβάνοντας τὰ κοινὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀπίστους ὅντας τοὺς ἥθεσι, φυλάξησθε. Ἡ γὰρ εὔνοια καὶ τὸ τῆς δημόκρατίας ὄνομα κεῖται μὲν ἐν μέσῳ, φθάνουσι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ καταφεύγοντες τῷ λόγῳ 249 ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ οἱ τοῖς ἔργοις πλεῖστον ἀπέχοντες. "Οταν οὖν λάβητε ρήτορα ξενικῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἐπιθυμοῦντα, ἐπανάγειν αὐτὸν κελεύετε καὶ τὸν λόγον, ὥσπερ τὰς βεβαιώσεις τῶν κτημάτων ὁ νόμος κελεύει ποιεῖσθαι, εἰς βίον ἀξιόχρεων καὶ τρόπον σώφρονα. "Οτῷ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ μαρτυρεῖται, μὴ βεβαιοῦτε αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐπαίνους, καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐπιμελήθητε ἥδη διαφευγούσης ὑμᾶς. Ἡ οὐ δεινὸν ὑμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι ὅτι τὸ μὲν βουλευτήριον καὶ ὁ δῆμος παρορᾶται, αἱ δ' ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ αἱ πρεσβεῖαι ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς ἴδιωτικὰς οἰκίας, οὐ παρὰ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν πρωτευόντων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ; Καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημία θάνατος, ταῦτά τινες οὐκ ἐξαρνοῦνται πράττειν, ἀλλ' ὅμολογούσιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀλλήλοις παραναγιγνώσκουσιν, καὶ παρακελεύονται ὑμῖν οἱ μὲν βλέπειν εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν πρόσωπα ὡς φύλακες τῆς δημοκρατίας, ἔτεροι δ' αἵτοῦσι δωρεὰς ὡς σωτῆρες τῆς πόλεως ὅντες.

251 Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς ἀθυμίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων ὥσπερ παραγεγηρακὼς ἢ παρανοίας ἑαλωκὼς αὐτὸ μόνον τούνομα τῆς δημοκρατίας περιποιεῖται, τῶν δ' ἔργων ἔτέροις παρακεχώρηκεν. "Επειτ' ἀπέρχεσθε ἐκ

τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὐ βουλευσάμενοι, ἀλλ' ὕσπερ ἐκ τῶν ἔρανων, τὰ περιόντα νειμάμενοι. "Οτι δ' οὐ ληρῶ,²⁵² ἐκεῖθεν τὸν λόγον θεωρήσατε. 'Ἐγένετο τις (ἄχθομαι δὲ μεμνημένος πολλάκις τὰς ἀτυχίας τῆς πόλεως) ἐνταῦθ' ἀνὴρ ἴδιώτης, ὃς ἐκπλεῦν μόνον εἰς Σάμον ἐπιχειρήσας ώς προδότης τῆς πατρίδος αὐθημερὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς θανάτῳ ἐζημιώθη. "Ετερος δ' ἴδιώτης ἐκπλεύσας εἰς Ρόδον, ὅτι τὸν φόβον ἀνάνδρως ἥνεγκε, πρώην ποτὲ εἰσηγγέλθη καὶ ἵσαι αὐτῷ αἱ ψῆφοι ἐγένοντο· εἰ δὲ μία μόνον μετέπεσεν, ὑπερώριστ' ἀνὴρ ἦ ἀπέθανεν. 'Αντιθῶμεν δὴ τὸ νυνὶ γι-²⁵³ γνόμενον. 'Ανὴρ ρήτωρ, ὃ πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος, ἔλιπε μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τάξιν, ἀπέδρα δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· οὗτος στεφανοῦσθαι ἀξιοῦ καὶ κηρύττεσθαι οἴεται δεῖν. Οὐκ ἀποπέμψετε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ώς κοινὴν τῶν Ἐλλήνων συμφοράν; "Η συλλαβόντες ώς ληστὴν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπ' ὀνομάτων διὰ τῆς πολιτείας πλέοντα, τιμωρήσεσθε; Καὶ τὸν καιρὸν μνήσθητε ἐν φῇ τὴν ψῆφον φέρετε. 'Ημερῶν μὲν ὀλίγων²⁵⁴ μελλει τὰ Πύθια γίγνεσθαι καὶ τὸ συνεδριον τὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων συλλέγεσθαι· διαβέβληται δ' ἡ πόλις ἐκ τῶν Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων περὶ τοὺς νῦν καιρούς· δόξετε δ', εὖ μὲν τοῦτον στεφανώσητε, ὅμογνώμονες⁹⁰ εἶναι τοῖς παραβαίνουσι τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην, εὖ μὲν τούναντίον τούτου πράξητε, ἀπολύσετε τὸν δῆμον τῶν αἰτιῶν.

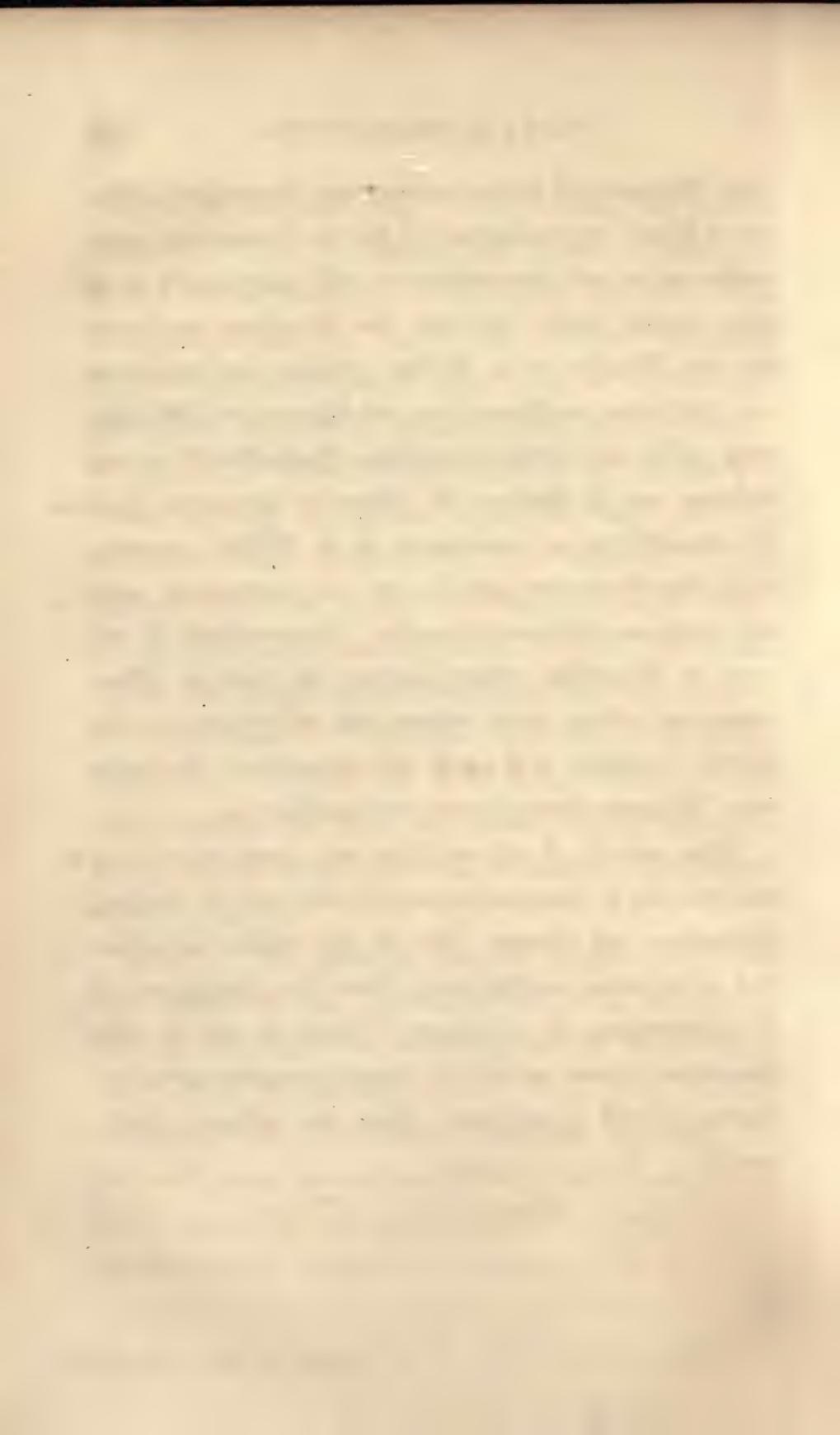
Μὴ οὖν ώς ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίας, ἀλλ' ώς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας²⁵⁵

τῆς πόλεως βουλεύεσθε, καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας μὴ νέμετε,
ἀλλὰ κρίνετε, καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς εἰς βελτίω σώματα καὶ
ἄνδρας ἀξιολογωτέρους ἀπόθεσθε, καὶ μὴ μόνον τοῖς
ώσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὅμμασι διαβλέφαντες εἰς ὑμᾶς
ἀὐτοὺς βουλεύσασθε, τίνες ὑμῶν εἰσὶν οἱ βοηθήσοντες
Δημοσθένει, πότερον οἱ συγκυνηγέται, ἢ οἱ συγγυμνα-
σταὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτ’ ἦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ.—'Αλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν
'Ολύμπιον οὐχ ὃς ἀγρίους κυνηγετῶν οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ
σώματος εὐεξίας ἐπιμελόμενος, ἀλλ’ ἐπασκῶν τέχνας
256 ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰς οὐσίας κεκτημένους διαγεγένηται.—'Αλλ’
εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀποβλέφαντες, ὅταν φῆ Βυζαντίους
μὲν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν πρεσβεύσας ἔξελέσθαι τῶν Φιλίπ-
που, ἀποστῆσαι δὲ Ἀκαρνάνας, ἐκπλῆξαι δὲ Θηβαίους
δημηγορήσας· οἵται γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς τοσοῦτον εὐηθείας
ἥδη προβεβηκέναι ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπεισθήσεσθαι,
ὅσπερ Πειθὼ τρέφοντας, ἀλλ’ οὐ συκοφάντην ἄνθρω-
πον ἐν τῇ πόλει.

257 "Οταν δ’ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἥδη τοῦ λόγου συνηγόρους
τοὺς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δωροδοκημάτων αὐτῷ παρακαλῇ,
ὑπόλαμβάνετε ὄρāν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, οὖν νῦν ἐστηκὰς
ἔγω λέγω, ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους πρὸς τὴν τούτων
ἀσέλγειαν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως εὐεργέτας, Σόλωνα μὲν
τὸν καλλίστοις νόμοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν δημοκρατίαν,
ἄνδρα φιλόσοφον καὶ νομοθέτην ἀγαθόν, σωφρόνως, ὡς
προσῆκεν αὐτῷ, δεόμενον ὑμῶν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τοὺς Δη-
μοσθένους λόγους περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὅρκων
258 καὶ τῶν νόμων, Ἀριστείδην δὲ τὸν τοὺς φόρους τάξαντα

τοῖς "Ελλησιν, οὐ τελευτήσαντος τὰς θυγατέρας ἐξέδωκεν ὁ δῆμος, σχετλιάζοντα ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς δικαιοσύνης προπηλακισμῷ, καὶ ἐπερωτῶντα εἰ οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε εἰ οἱ μὲν πατέρες ὑμῶν ["]Αρθμιον τὸν Ζελείτην κομίσαντα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸ ἐκ Μήδων χρυσίον, ἐπιδημήσαντα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, πρόξενον ὅντα τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων, παρ' οὐδὲν μὲν ἥλθον ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐξεκήρυξαν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐξ ἀπάσης ἡς Ἀθηναῖοι ἄρχουσιν, ὑμεῖς 259 δὲ Δημοσθένην, οὐ κομίσαντα τὸ ἐκ Μήδων χρυσίον, ἀλλὰ δωροδοκήσαντα καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν κεκτημένον, χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ μέλλετε στεφανοῦν. Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι τελευτήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τάφους τοὺς τῶν προγόνων οὐκ οἴεσθε στενάξειν, εἰ ὁ μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμολογῶν τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἀντιπράττειν στεφανωθήσεται ;

'Εγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὡς γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ σύνεσις 260 καὶ παιδεία, ἡ διαγιγνώσκομεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρά, βεβοήθηκα καὶ εἴρηκα. Καὶ εἰ μὲν καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ ἀδικήματος κατηγόρηκα, εἴπον ως ἐβουλόμην, εἰ δὲ ἐνδεεστέρως, ως ἐδυνάμην. 'Τμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων λόγων καὶ ἐκ τῶν παραλειπομένων αὐτοὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ψηφίσασθε.



NOTES.



N O T E S.

THE Oration was made in a prosecution of Ctesiphon **for** proposing to bestow an honorary crown upon Demosthenes, on the ground of the illegality of the measure (*παρανόμων γραφή*). It was delivered B. C. 330, nearly eight years after the indictment was moved. The following may be taken as a general outline of the course of thought :—

1. That he trusted the factious array against him would be controlled by the law, since, as factious proceedings in the Assembly had opened the way for illegal measures, and led to the substitution of arbitrary trials, instead of the regular trials before the courts, there remained only one remedy for these disorders, — trials for proposing illegal decrees, which if they did not sustain, all was lost. §§ 1 – 8.
2. Necessity of the law forbidding to crown a magistrate before the accounts of his office have been accepted. §§ 9, 10.
3. That some violated this law under a plausible pretext, but Ctesiphon without any at all. §§ 11, 12.
4. That neither the manner of the appointment of a magistrate, nor the fact of his having expended his own money in his office cleared him from responsibility, as all magistrates whatever were responsible at Athens. §§ 13 – 23.

5. That Demosthenes held two important offices at the time Ctesiphon proposed to crown him, and that these offices were such as the laws describe as responsible.
§§ 24–31.

6. That with regard to the proclamation of the crown, the law provides, and with very good reason, that crowns shall be conferred only in the Senate-chamber or the Pnyx, whereas Ctesiphon had proposed to confer it in the theatre.
§§ 32–34.

7. That the pretence of his adversary, that there is another law authorizing proclamations in the theatre, is absurd, since it was provided that the laws should be revised every year, and all obsolete and conflicting laws annulled.
§§ 35–48.

8. That with regard to the merits of Demosthenes, he should show the statements of Ctesiphon to be false.
§§ 49, 50.

9. That he might dwell upon his private misdeeds, but should pass them by. §§ 51–53.

10. That of his public misdeeds he should speak more at large, with respect to four principal periods of his public life. §§ 54–57.

11. That in the first period he acted in concert with Philocrates in making the peace with Philip against the interests of his country, exhibited a servile spirit of flattery towards Philip and his ambassadors, prevented the peace being made in conjunction with a common congress of the Greeks, and, especially, sacrificed Kersobleptes, their ally, to Philip. §§ 58–78.

12. That in the second period, after Philip had passed Thermopylæ and made a descent upon Phocis, Demosthenes, to avoid the responsibility of these unfavorable results of the peace, suddenly changed his course, and charged the blame upon his fellow-ambassadors, while he instigated the people to an uncompromising war against Philip, to carry

on which he formed a most disadvantageous and disgraceful alliance with the Eubœans (at a later period, also, with the Thebans), in which transaction he was guilty of the grossest corruption. §§ 79 – 105.

13. That during the third period he brought disgrace upon himself and ruin upon his country ; first, by his impious course in upholding the Amphisseans in their violation of the sacred country of Cirrha, and secondly, by the alliance which he formed with Thebes, which was highly objectionable on three grounds : — first, its terms were much more favorable to Thebes than to Athens ; second, it diminished the dignity of Athens and increased the power of Thebes ; and, third, it prevented the Thebans from making peace with Philip ; all which rendered it most unfitting that he should be crowned as it was proposed. §§ 106 – 158.

14. That after the battle of Chæroneia he slunk away from Athens, on a tour to collect taxes from the allies, and after his return offered no decree in his own name till the death of Philip, when he suddenly assumed new courage, procured the passage of decrees honoring Philip's murderer, and of public rejoicing, while he ridiculed his successor, Alexander, when at a distance, but shrunk from him when near, and finally sold himself to him. §§ 159 – 167.

15. Nor was Demosthenes, as was supposed, a true democrat, when tried by the proper tests of that character. §§ 168 – 176.

16. That the frequent conferring of public honors, such as Demosthenes was contending for, had a very injurious effect upon the country, and was directly opposed to the practice of the city in its earlier and better days, when, also, the judges were much more strict than at that time in trials, and confined the speakers much more to the subject, as he trusted they would Ctesiphon and Demosthenes on the present occasion, who would employ every art to mislead them. §§ 177 – 212.

17. That Ctesiphon and Demosthenes each professed great anxiety for the other, but pretended to have no concern for themselves. §§ 213, 214.

18. That with regard to the charge which he understood Demosthenes would bring against him, of having stood aloof from public affairs, and allowed him to carry through so many pernicious measures without ever bringing him to trial for any of them at the time, and now, so long after the events, bringing against him a sweeping accusation for all his public life, he would say that this might be accounted for by his simple and quiet habits of life, and by the litigious and quarrelsome character of Demosthenes, which rendered it dangerous for any one to oppose him in anything. §§ 215 – 229.

19. That it was impossible for them to set aside the indictment, either on the ground of the legality of the decree of Ctesiphon, or the character of Demosthenes, if they had any regard to their duty as judges, or the safety of the democracy. §§ 230 – 235.

20. That neither the repairing of the walls, nor the public measures of Demosthenes, (which were the grounds of the application for a crown,) constituted any reason for crowning him. §§ 236 – 240.

21. That least of all should the court be outraged by Demosthenes speaking his own praise, who had no claims whatever to the honor demanded, and if he received it, would furnish a most pernicious example to all who were acquainted with the fact, which should lead them to be severe in their judgment, that the democracy might not be destroyed by such men. §§ 241 – 254.

22. That, in deciding the cause, they should not only guard against the influence of personal friendship for Demosthenes, but also against the effect of his impudent confidence, placing before themselves for their guidance the worthies of their past history. §§ 255 – 259.

23. That if he had not spoken in the cause as he wished, he had spoken as he could, and it remained for them to decide it justly, not only from what he had said, but also from what he had left unsaid. § 260.

§ 1. *παρασκευὴν . . . παράταξιν*] “preparation . . . array,” i. e. of the friends and supporters of Demosthenes. As the number of judges or jurymen (*δικαιοτάται*) in the Athenian courts was large, and as these judges were drawn from the common people, there was necessarily considerable opportunity for the influence of faction even in the courts of justice. We know from § 56, as well as from the reply of Demosthenes (§ 196), that the court was thronged by hearers on the present occasion, most of whom, it is natural to suppose, attached themselves to the interest of the one or the other of the great orators; just as in great trials, in our own country, the friends of the two parties respectively attend in multitudes, to encourage and sustain their favorite. It is probable, indeed, from the peculiar constitution of other Athenian courts, (the number of judges being so large, and not of a professional character,) that factious arts were carried much farther than in our courts, and that, as at the meetings of the Assembly, applause, groans, hisses, and other like means, were employed in turn, to influence the decision. The orators often allude to the bustling activity and overawing influence of factions in the courts of justice; as, Lysias, Pro Bonis Aristoph., § 2, and Dem., De Falsâ Legatione, § 1. The terms here are military and figurative, on which account they seem to be unsuited to the commencement of an oration. But the occasion was an exciting one, and besides, the words had probably acquired, in this sense, something of the force of common terms, as is the case with the corresponding terms in our language. At any rate, they are often used by the orators at the beginning of their speeches. See Lysias, as above.—*δεήσεις*] “so-

licitations." This refers to the same factious proceedings. The Scholiast supposes it to refer to attempts to gain over the judges by demagogical arts, which is confirmed by a comparison of Dem. F. L., § 1. Bremi cites, in illustration of the meaning, the passage from Livy, Lib. III. cap. 14 :— "Benigne salutare, alloqui plebis homines, domum invitare, adesse in foro . . . permulcendo tractandoque mansuefacere plebem." The agora was the great rallying-point of the people, and hence was the place to find or make partisans. Besides, most of the courts were held in the agora (Herm., Polit. Antiq., §§ 134, 135), and were many of them open to the air (Dict. Antiq., Art. Δικαστήριον), so that what was going on around could be seen from them ; hence the use of δρᾶτε. — τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ συνήθη] "what is proper and according to usage." The second τὰ is omitted in some MSS., but it seems to be required by the distinct nature of the two classes of objects referred to (lit. "the proper and the customary," not "the proper and customary"). K. § 264. 2. — τοῖς νόμοις καὶ νόμῳ] The laws were of no avail, of course, unless they were faithfully administered by the judges, and hence they are presented together as a ground of confidence.

2. Ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὖν] "I was wishing then," "I could have wished then." ἀντί is omitted here, as it often is with the historical tenses, especially of verbs denoting *necessity*, *duty*, *inclination*, etc. K. § 260, R. 3. μὲν is responded to by δέ in the beginning of § 3. — τὴν βουλὴν, τοὺς πεντακοσίους] In apposition with each other. The Council or Senate of Five Hundred (so called to distinguish it from the Council of the Areopagus) was a deliberative body consisting of fifty members from each of the ten tribes of Athens, appointed annually by lot. The Senate had the initiative in all decrees (and, generally, in all deliberative matters) to be acted upon by the Assembly, since that body could pass no decree which had not been first prepared and approved by the Senate. It

had also various financial duties. See Bojesen's Grecian Antiq., p. 93. — *τὰς ἐκκλησίας*] “the popular assemblies.” Open to all the citizens of Athens, and indeed of all Attica, in person. The government of Athens was a pure democracy. — *τῶν ἐφεστηκότων*] “the presiding officers.” Who these were may be learned from § 3, note. From what is there said, it appears that a departure from the wholesome rules of order prescribed by Solon had led to great irregularities in the management of the assemblies, since it had given scope for the influence of factious and demagogical arts. — *ἐξῆ*] In the subj. after a historical tense, because the writer still desired this result. K. § 330, R. 1. b. The original practice, as established by Solon, was to call first upon all above fifty years to speak on any question proposed in the Assembly, and then any who were younger, in order (see § 4). This, of course, tended to give a right direction to all questions, by securing the maturest views first, and to prevent irregular and unjust proceedings, by preventing disorder. If the speakers were to follow each other according to their age, there was no chance for partisans to call out a favorite at the fortunate juncture, and give undue weight and influence to his views by applause. — *βουλόμενον*] By a change of construction here, the acc., instead of the dat., is used with the infin. after *ἔξεστι*. K. § 307, R. 3. — *χωρὶς καὶ ἐν μέρει*] “separately and in turn.” — *ἄν*] Belongs to *διοικεῖσθαι*. *δοκεῖ* is personal, instead of being impersonal (“both the city seems to me that it would,” etc.). K. § 307, R. 6.

3. *γνώμας*] “opinions,” “propositions.” — *ταῦθ’*] Referring to *γνώμας*, but put in the neuter to agree with *ψηφίσματα*, which means the same thing, but by anticipation is spoken of as already voted or *decreed*. See § 230. — *ἐπιψηφίζοντι*] “put to the vote.” This duty belonged to the *proedri*, as they were called. As there were ten tribes at Athens, the year was divided into ten parts, and the fifty Senators of each tribe exercised the presidency in delibera-

tive matters in turn. The presiding tribe for the time being was called *φυλὴ πρυτανεύοντα*, the period of their office *πρυτανεία*, and the members *πρυτάνεις*. One of their number was appointed daily by lot as president (*ἐπιστάτης*), who presided not only in the Senate, but in the assemblies of the people also. In the time of Æschines the president was assisted in the Assembly by nine vice-presidents, chosen daily by himself from the other nine tribes, called *proedri*, and also by a tribe selected for this purpose, called *φυλὴ προεδρεύοντα* (see § 4, *fin.*). Now as these presiding officers were appointed by lot, there was opportunity for deception, as in all lotteries, on the part of those who had the management of the lots, for the purpose of placing their friends or the friends of certain factions in power. This seems to be what is alluded to in the text. The protest of any one of the *proedri* was sufficient to prevent the vote from being put; but he was liable to the severest penalty for preventing it illegally.—*καθεζόμενοι*] That is, “sitting as *proedri* by arrangement,” i. e. not by a *bonâ fide* election by lot, but by shuffling. The presiding officers probably occupied the front seats.—*ἀναγορεύῃ*] “declare.” The votes were counted by the crier, and declared by the Epistles.—*εἰσαγγέλλειν*] “to bring to summary justice,” “to try by the process called *εἰσαγγελία*,” i. e. for the abuse (as they pretended) of his power as president. See *εἰσαγγελία*, Dict. Antiq.—*τοὺς Ἰδιώτας*] “the common people.” Opposed to *ρήτορες* (public men).

4. *καὶ τὰς κρίσεις . . . κρίνοντιν*] “and while they have put an end to the actions by the laws, try with passion those brought on by votes,” i. e. special actions, such as the *εἰσαγγελία*, where a crime was asserted, such as either in itself or in its circumstances was unprovided for by any particular law. Such causes were brought before the popular assembly for investigation. And, as there was a better opportunity for crushing a rival in this way than in the

regular process before the courts, there seems to have been a strong tendency to increase causes of this kind. ὀργὴ corresponds almost precisely to our word *passion*, which more commonly means *anger*, but also any other *feeling*. In Soph. Antig., 356, it means *an aptitude for civil affairs*. — τὸ δέκατον πόλεως] That is, the representatives of one of the ten tribes. See § 3, note.

5. ὅποιος τινὰς] “as somewhat,” “as about.” He does not wish to go into detail, and hence refers the case to their own conceptions. The Scholiast says, τὸ ἐπάχθες ἔφυγεν, οὐ μὴ λυπήσῃ. For this use of *tis*, see K. § 303. 4. — τῆς πολιτείας] “of the constitution.” More properly, of free governments. — αἱ τῶν . . . γραφαῖ] “the indictments for illegal measures,” i. e. such as were contrary to any of the laws of Solon; of which kind, he contended, the decree of Ctesiphon to crown Demosthenes was, which called forth the present oration and the immortal reply of Demosthenes. See Dem. de Coron., §§ 9, 17, notes. — καὶ ταύτας] “these also,” i. e. these as well as the other ordinary trials required by law (§ 4).

6. τοῖς τρόποις] “the habits,” “wills,” “caprices.” Opposed to *τοῖς νόμοις* below. — παρρήσιας] “liberty of speech,” “right to participate in public affairs.” — ὁ νομοθέτης] That is, Solon, who was called *the lawgiver*, by way of eminence, by the Athenians.

7. μηδένα . . . ἔξαιρεῖσθαι] Depends upon ἔγεισθαι, taken (by zeugma) in the sense of φυλάττεσθαι. K. § 346. 3. This artful appeal to the professional pride of the judges, whom he represents as in danger of being deprived of the legitimate business of their office by the gradual encroachments of the Assembly upon their duties (see § 4), is well calculated to secure their favor. — τὰς . . . συνηγορίας] “Sæpe accusant oratores τοὺς στρατηγούς, quod tantum absit, ut reipublicæ hostes foris devincant, ut, otiosi domi manentes, seditiosorum consilia adjuvent otiumque et liber-

8. Κτησιφῶντα] Ctesiphon had proposed to bestow an honorary crown of gold upon Demosthenes for his eminent public services, which Æschines opposes, as *illegal*, *based upon falsehood*, and *injurious to the state*.

9. *τὴς ὅλης κατηγορίας*] “the whole accusation,” “the general bearings of the accusation.” He has thus far (i. e. in his introduction) spoken of the cause in its general character and bearings. Taylor makes this refer to the general discussion of the illegality of the question, which follows the preliminary statement of the necessity of the law forbidding to crown a magistrate, i. e. after § 12. But it seems to me that both the composition and the tense of *προειρῆσθαι* oppose this. — *κεῖνται*] “lie,” i. e. in the public archives; consequently, “exist.” — *τῶν ὑπευθύνων*] “those accountable”; i. e. magistrates and public functionaries having any considerable interests, especially of a pecuniary nature, intrusted to them, who had not passed the accounts of their office before the Logistae and Euthyni, and obtained

their approval of them. See Bojesen, p. 96. — *τυγχάνει γεγραφώς*] “happens to have written.” It was a mere circumstance, or by chance, that these particular laws were infringed in the case; the general aspects of the cause would be the same in case of the violation of any other laws; but he was to speak of the violation of the laws in this particular case. For this use of the part. with *τυγχάνω*, see K. § 310. 4. 1. — *ἀρχοντές*] “magistrates,” “public officers.” — *δωροδοκοῦντες . . . τούτων*] “receiving bribes in each of these.” *ἔκαστα* is neuter, because the nouns to which it refers designate inanimate objects, and are of different genders. K. § 242. 1. — *προσλαμβάνοντες*] “in auxilium vocantes oratores.—Duplex genus ῥητόρων hic memoratur; οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου et οἱ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου. Illi videntur esse, qui ipsi senatores, quum res a senatu deliberatas proponerent, loquebantur; hi, qui surgerent pro ordine ex populo.” Bremi. — *προκατελάμβανον*] “forestalled,” “pre-occupied.” The imperf. implies that they were in the habit of doing it.—*τῶν ἀρχῶν*] “of their magistracies,” “offices.”

10. *ἐπ’ αὐτοφάρῳ*] “upon the very act,” “by the very act.” — *εἰκότως*] “justly,” “with reason.” Because, as he goes on to say, they felt ashamed to condemn one as a peculator who had just been crowned by the people for his virtue and justice.—*τὰς εὐθύνας ὠφληκώς*] “having failed in the scrutiny of his accounts,” i. e. “having been found guilty of malversation in his office.”—*ὑπὲρ*] “out of regard to,” i. e. “to prevent.” *ὑπέρ* implies a stronger interest than *περὶ* (see *περὶ*, above), and when the object in which the interest is felt is not desirable, it may be rendered as here. See Dem. Olynth., I. § 5.

11. *μὴ στεφανοῦν*] For the negative, see § 35, note. — *λόγοι*] “words,” i. e. of the orators, “special pleadings.” — *τις . . . ἐρεῖ*] He is preparing the way for what he was about to do himself, namely, to name and expound the laws on this subject. — *οἱ μὲν*] Opposed to *Κτησιφῶν δέ*, below

(§ 12).—*εἰ δῆ]* “if indeed.”—*ἀλλ’ . . . αἰσχύνης]* “anyhow, they interpose something at least between themselves and shame,” i. e. cover up the open illegality of their opposition to crown a favorite, by the addition of the clause, *when he has given account and proofs*, i. e. of his office (see § 15, note). For the meaning of *ἀλλ’ οὖν* (“anyhow”), see Jelf’s K. § 774, R. 1. Observe, too, the force of the word *προβάλλουσαι* (“they put forward for their own protection, or as a screen for themselves”).

12. *αἰσχύνεται . . . ἡμάρτηκε]* “yet blush at their offences.” *δὲ* stands opposed to *μὲν* in the preceding sentence. In such cases, these particles are to be rendered variously, but always so as to shape their clauses with reference to each other. See Dem. Pop. Orat., II. § 2, note.—*τὴν πρόφασιν]* “the pretext,” “the semblance of a reason.” Referring to the addition (named above) made to their decrees for conferring crowns, by some of the more modest.—*μεταξὺ . . . ἀρχοντα]* “while in the full exercise of his office.” The idea of time (*while*), expressed by the participle alone, is expressed more exactly by the addition of the adverb (K. § 312, R. 6). The decree was proposed by Ctesiphon in the autumn of B. C. 338, and the accusation of Æschines was lodged with the archon in the following spring, but was not called up for trial till eight years after, when the complete triumph of the Macedonian party at Athens led him to hope for success.

13. *Λέξουσι]* That is, Ctesiphon and Demosthenes, in their replies. These anticipations of what an opponent would say are more common in ancient than in modern oratory. They abound particularly in this oration; so much so, that it is generally supposed that many of them, with some other things, were added after the reply of Demosthenes was made. But as this was an old dispute, and turned mostly upon points which they had often discussed before with each other, and many of which, it is probable, were at

issue between the two great parties,—the conservative and the revolutionary,—many of them, we may suppose, were real anticipations. But there can be no doubt that much was added by Æschines after the reply of Demosthenes was made. See §§ 180, 225. Demosthenes makes no attempt to avail himself of the distinction here referred to, in his reply, but maintains the propriety of his being crowned, upon the ground that he had furnished from his own private fortune a large part of the money expended in his office as repairer of the walls of the city, and that others had been crowned in such cases while undischarged of their office (see §§ 111–119 of his reply). It is probable that the law upon this point, though such as here stated by Æschines, was often dispensed with on particular pretexts, and was rapidly going into disuse at the time of this trial. The nation had become so corrupt, that the laws were but cobwebs.—*ως ἄρα*] “that forsooth.” It generally indicates disbelief or contempt. See Dem. Pop. Orat., VIII. § 4, note.—*ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διακονία*] These terms indicate certain temporary and subordinate kinds of public service, for which those who exercised them were not required to render an account. Some seem to have contended (of whom Æschines would have it that Demosthenes was one) that all persons appointed to any duty by a special vote belonged to this class.—*οἱ θεσμοθέται*] “the Thesmothetæ,” i. e. the six inferior archons,—all except the Eponymus, the King, and the Polemarch. They superintended the lots for the election of nearly all the regular magistrates (*ἀρχοντες*) at the temple of Theseus. See Bojesen, p. 95.—*ἀρχαιρεσίαις*] “assemblies for electing magistrates,” probably held at stated times. See Schömann, Assemb. Ath., p. 395.—*μετὰ τούτων*] “connected with these.”—*πραγματείας*] “commissions.”

14. *λύσειν ἡγούμενοι*] “thinking to put an end to.”—*τειχοποιός*] This appears to have been a regular magis-

tracy, filled annually by the choice of one from each of the ten tribes. The appointment was made by the tribes at the command of the people (see §§ 27, 31). Their business was to see that the walls and fortifications around Athens were kept in repair. Demosthenes seems to have been one of the ten commissioners for this purpose in the year of the battle of Chæroneia, B. C. 338 (see § 27, note), and to have been employed in making some repairs on the walls immediately after that event. See the word in Smith's Dict. Antiq. — *ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων*] That is, “the right of instituting the preliminary judicial investigations in all causes coming within their respective departments.” This right belonged to all magistrates, properly so called, in which capacity they were called *εἰσαγωγεῖς* (see *εἰσαγωγεῖς* in Smith's Dict. Antiq.).

15. *κελεύει*] That is, the decree, of which he had quoted the introductory part. — *οὐ . . . δικαστηρίψ*] “not to serve, but to exercise a magistracy, having been approved in the court.” Their office, then, was not a *διακονία*, but an *ἀρχή* (see § 13). But before they could enter upon their office, they must pass the customary examination, or *δοκιμασία*, before the court. See Herm., § 148. — *αἱ κληρωταὶ ἀρχαὶ*] “the magistrates chosen by lot.” See § 13, note. — *καὶ . . . λογιστάς*] “and enter an account and proofs for the secretary and the accountants.” Bremi supposes that, properly, *διδόναι* is understood with *εὐθύνας*, which is often expressed. See § 20. *Λόγος* (or *λογισμός*) was the account itself, and *εὐθύναι* the accompanying statements, designed to elucidate or prove it. It was somehow with reference to these two parts of the account, it is probable, that the two classes of examiners (*Logistæ* and *Euthyni*) received their appellations. The secretary referred to was, probably, what was called the scribe of the city, or of the Senate and people. See Boeckh's Pub. Econ. Ath., pp. 189 – 193 ; Schömann, p. 303. — *NOMOI*] The documents

are merely referred to by their titles in this oration, and not introduced. See the Appendix to my edition of Dem. de Corona.

16. ἀπομημονεύειν καὶ ἀντιτάπτειν] “to call up and oppose.” — ἵποβάλλειν] “to reply,” “show.” — τῷ τοῦ νόμου δικαίῳ] “to the justice of the law.” Opposed to τῇ τοῦ λέγοντος ἀναισχυντίᾳ. The case is well put here, and the sentiment just.

17. Πρὸς δὲ . . . Δημοσθένης] “but with regard now to the invincible argument which Demosthenes speaks of.” He had probably spoken of it in private circles, unless this be one of those passages added after the reply of Demosthenes. He does make use of this argument in his reply, and very plausibly at least, if not convincingly. It was expressly for his benefactions to the state that Ctesiphon purposed to crown him. See the decree of Ctesiphon, Dem. de Coron., § 119.—μνᾶς ἑκατὸν] A misrepresentation, or mistake (arising, perhaps, from confounding it with the sum he gave as manager of the Theoricon, Dem. de Coron., § 119). He gave in this case three talents, or *one hundred and eighty minæ*, besides other benefactions. See the above-named decree in Dem. “Hoc est oratorum Atticorum flagitium, ut adversarii quæ fecerunt laudabilia consulto deminuant et corrumpant.” Breui. — τὸ μέγεθος] “in size.” Accusative of nearerer definition. See § 77; also K. § 279. 7. — τῶν καὶ . . . προσεληλυθότων] “of those having come forward to the management of public affairs, even in any way whatever.”

18. ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων] “upon extreme cases,” “even in cases where it would not be expected.” — οἷον] “for instance.” This implies τοιόνδε, which, however, is more commonly understood, like other demonstratives in Greek. See Plato, Gorg., 464. A.—κατὰ σῶμα] “individually.” See § 27.—τὰ γέρα] That is, *the sacrifices, contributions, etc., presented at the temples.* — τὰ γένη] “the families.”

That is, certain families in which the priesthood was hereditary.

19. *τοὺς τριηράρχους*] “the trierarchs,” i. e. citizens who were required to fit out galleys for the public service. They fitted them out at their own expense. See Dem. de Coron., § 99, note.—*πολλὰ μὲν . . . τὰ ὑμέτερα*] “filching much while they lay out but little, and saying that they give of their own means (*ἐπιδιδόνται*), whereas they only give what is yours.” A hit at Demosthenes. Observe *μὲν* followed by *δὲ* repeated three times, distributing the clauses into pairs, contrasted among themselves and with each other. See § 31, note. Their gift, he says, was not such, but a *bonâ fide* one.—*συνεδρίων*] “of the Councils.” Such as that of the Areopagus, and the Senate of Five Hundred, named below.—*ὑπὸ . . . ψῆφον*] “comes under the vote of the tribunals,” i. e. was held responsible to the people.

20. *καὶ τὴν . . . ψῆφον*] “and that august council there, arbiter of the weightiest matters, brings under your vote.” The reading varies here, but this is that adopted by Bekker, and seems the most satisfactory, on the whole.—*Οὐκ ἄρα . . . τρυφῶσι*] “Shall not, then, the Council of Areopagus be crowned? (i. e. since their office was for life.) No, for it is not a hereditary right to them. Are they not ambitious, then? Most assuredly; but they are not satisfied if one of their number merely does no wrong, whereas, if he does wrong, they punish him (i. e. their strict notions of merit keep them from such aspirations), while your orators put on airs, or run riot in their demands for public honors.” This is the best interpretation which I can give of this obscure passage.

21. *μὴ ἀποδημήσω;*] “may I not leave the country?” Questions asked by *μή* require a negative answer. See K. § 344. 5. d.—*Ἴνα γε . . . χρήση*] “No, lest, perchance, having embezzled the public money, or executed slightly the business of your office, you may take to flight.” *προ-*

λαθὼν, by zeugma, is taken in different senses with *χρήματα* and *πράξεις*. — *καθιεροῦν*] “to devote to sacred purposes.” Because it was not certain that all his property would not be required to settle his account with the state. — *ἐκποίητον*] “adopted.” Because no one could be adopted who had not the right of citizenship, and if one failed in giving a satisfactory account of his office, he lost this right. See Herm., Polit. Antiq., § 124.

23. *Tis βούλεται κατηγορεῖν;*] At the passing of one’s accounts before the Logistæ, a general invitation was given to all to bring forward any charges which they might have against the magistrate relative to the exercise of his office. — *δέκα τάλαντα*] There were ten commissioners for this purpose, one from each tribe. Whether Demosthenes had this sum assigned to him alone, or only his proportion, is a little uncertain. Æschines himself, in another place (§ 31, *μικροῦ δεῖν δέκα τάλαντα*), abates somewhat from the sum here named. See Boeckh, p. 204. — *υστερος*] “after,” “in conformity with.” Opposed to *ἔμπροσθεν*.

24. *οὗτοι*] Ctesiphon and Demosthenes, both of whom would reply, — Ctesiphon first, as being the one directly arraigned, and then Demosthenes, as deeply implicated. — *μέχρι . . . μοι*] “let it thus far have been spoken by me,” i. e. “I have thus far spoken, and this must suffice.” It expresses the state resulting from a perfected action, as well as the action itself. K. § 255, R. 6. — *οὗτος*] Ctesiphon. — *ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ*] “over the theoretic fund.” A large fund, devoted to defraying the expenses of theatrical and other entertainments for the people. See Smith’s Dict. Antiq., Art. *Theorica*. — *ἡδη*] “now at length.” And thus, generally, *ἡδη* is *now*, in some way out of season, i. e. too early or too late, like the Latin *jam*. — *ἐπι*] “under,” or, more strictly, “upon.” It denotes time, or a course of events, as *dependent upon* some person (lit. “during the course of events dependent upon what archon”). — *ἀλίσκοιτο*]

"should be convicted." This verb serves as the passive of *aipēiv* (see *aipēi*, following).

25. *ἀντιγραφεὺς*] "checking-clerk," "comptroller," i. e. of the accounts of the collectors of the revenues. This was the *ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς βουλῆς*. See Boeckh's Pub. Econ., p. 188.—*Εὐβουλον*] An orator at Athens, who had great power with the people. The theoretic fund was one of his hobbies for gaining popular favor.—*ἥρχον*] "exercised."—*'Ηγῆμονος*] An illiterate demagogue at Athens, attached to the interest of Philip.—*ἀποδεκτῶν*] "collectors and disbursers of the public money," "paymasters." There were ten of these. See Boeckh, p. 159.—*νεωρίων*] "dock-yards." An abstract connected with a concrete noun. Thus not unfrequently in Æschines. See in Timarch., § 5, *τῶν τυράννων καὶ τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν* (*ὀλιγαρχικῶν* is the conjecture of Taylor, and adopted by Bekker). This concentration of offices in the managers of the theoretic fund was to give them sufficient power to prevent the diversion of the fund to other purposes. Such an unnatural amalgamation of offices could not have continued long. See Dict. Antiq., Art. *Theorica*.

26. *αὐτῶν*] Eubulus and Hegemon.—*ἀπάστας*] As described above.

27. *ἐπιβολὰς ἐπέβαλλε*] "inflicted penalties." This was evidence of his holding a magistracy. See Lys. Orat. in Nicom., § 3.—*'Επὶ, κ. τ. λ.*] There is some difficulty in reconciling the designations of time here given with others pertaining to the same events. The facts in the case seem to be these. Chærondas was well known to have been Eponymus in the year of the battle of Chæroneia, B. C. 338–337). That battle was fought in the second month of the year of Chærondas (Metageitnion, August, 338). The decree of Ctesiphon to crown Demosthenes was proposed in October of the same year (Dem. de Coron., § 119), and Æschines lodged his accusation of Ctesiphon with the Ar-

chon in the following March (Dem. de Coron., § 54), the ninth month of the year of Chærondas. If now Demosthenes was not appointed *τειχοποιός* until the following Skirophorion (the following June, the last month of the year of Chærondas), as seems to be stated here, he did not hold the office at the time it was proposed to crown him, and hence was not responsible. Nor is it consistent with the language here employed (without some intermediate explanation, as below) to suppose, with Clinton (Fasti Hellenici, Vol. II. p. 446), that the reference is merely to the fact of his *being* in office at that time, and not that he was then *appointed* (see *καὶ ἐπέταξεν . . . ἐλέσθαι . . . ταμίας*). The appointment, then, must have been made at the close of the preceding year; and, as it is hardly probable that the true Eponymus of this year would have been given as the *pseudeponymus* of the preceding, I would suggest, whether (since he was appointed at the very end of the previous year, and *for* this year) the phrase *'Επὶ Χαιρώνδου* was not unconsciously used, by way of anticipation, with reference to the time of his *holding* the office, and not to the time of his *appointment*. Demosthenes, it is true (De Coron., § 248), speaks of his having procured the appropriation of the money for the repair of the walls *after* the battle of Chæroneia, but not of his appointment to the office of *τειχοποιός* at that time. The office was probably an annual one (see § 14, note). — *δευτέρᾳ φθίνοντος*] “the last day but one,” of this month, “the twenty-ninth day.” For the mode of reckoning the days of the month at Athens, see Dem. de Coron., § 29, note. — *ἀγορὰν*] Often used thus for an assembly of the tribes or demes. — *ἐκάστης*] Partitive genitive (“to elect of each of the tribes”). — *ταμίας*] “treasurers.” All such offices, which involved the handling of the public money, were furnished with treasurers. See Boeckh, p. 171. — *σώματα*] See § 18.

28. *ἀντιδιαπλέκει*] “he gives the artful or disingenuous re-

ply." — *ελαχε τειχοποιὸς*] Understand *εἶναι* (lit. "did not have the lot to be repairer of the walls," "was not chosen by lot"). Thus often. Demosthenes in his reply makes no use of this argument, that he was not chosen to the office by the people, but by his tribe. See § 13, note.

29. *τῶν περὶ . . . τρία*] "there are three kinds of magistrates." The article, followed by *περὶ* and an abstract noun, is often equivalent to the corresponding concrete noun, as in the very common phrases, *οἱ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, γραμματικήν, ῥητορικήν*, etc., = *οἱ φιλόσοφοι*, etc. The first class of magistrates named (*οἱ κληρωτὸι καὶ οἱ χειροτονητοί*) were either chosen by lot or by hand vote, upon the nomination of the archon, at assemblies appointed for the purpose; and the other two classes, either by special vote of the people, or by the tribes or demes at the command of the people; these were called *aἰρητοί*. See Schöm., Assemb. Ath., p. 294.

30. *καταλείπεται*] "it remains." — *τριττύες*] "thirds," i. e. of the tribes. There were twelve *τριττύες*, founded, probably, upon the four original tribes at Athens. This division was for financial purposes. See Herm., Polit. Antiq., § 99. 5.

31. *μὲν . . . δὲ . . . δ' . . . δὲ . . . δὲ . . . δὲ*] All the clauses stand opposed to that with *μὲν*, which contains the fundamental truth upon which all the others hang and become significant. But at the same time that they are all opposed to the first, the separate parts stand opposed to each other, and should be so rendered as to bring out this contrast ("whereas . . . and also . . . while . . . and at the same time . . . when finally"). See Jelf's K. § 770. 2. The points thus far established are very concisely and ably summed up here. This closes the first count in the indictment, — *The illegality of proposing to crown a magistrate before he is discharged of the accounts of his office.*

33. *σεμνύνεσθαι . . . ἔξωθεν*] "to magnify himself, or

put on airs, before strangers," i. e. by having the proclamation of his being crowned made in the theatre at the great Dionysiac festival (as was proposed in the decree of Ctesiphon), which was attended by people from all parts of Greece. See Smith's Dict. Antiq., Art. *Dionysia*. — ἐργολαβεῖν] "to work for pay," "to seek personal advantage and glory."

34. ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ . . . ἐκκλησίᾳ] "among the people in Pnyx, the assembly." τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ seems to be in apposition with the two preceding nouns, or else it must mean here the *place* of the assembly, and be in apposition with Πυκνή. The Pnyx was a semicircular excavation in the side of a hill, a little to the west of the Acropolis, inclosed by a low wall, and entirely open above. This was the place for the meetings of the Assembly of Athens in her best days. See Wordsworth's Athens, pp. 65, seq. — τραγῳδῶν . . . καινῶν] That is, at the Great Dionysia, in March, when new tragedies were represented. The expression, therefore, designates the time.

35. παραταχθεὶς . . . νόμοις] "having been in concert with Demosthenes, will assail the laws by cunning devices." — ἵνα . . . ἔξαπατηθέντες] "that you may not unconsciously be deceived." See K. § 310. 4. 1. — μὴ κηρύττειν] After words of a negative and prohibitive signification, the Greek employs another negative (*μή*) with the following infinitive, when we do not. Generally, too, where the negative verb is accompanied, as here, by *οὐκ*, or some other negative word, *μὴ οὐ*, instead of *μή* alone, is found with the infinitive. K. § 318. 8 and 10. — τὸν Διονυσιακὸν νόμον] This is the law by which Demosthenes justifies the proposition to proclaim his crown in the theatre, a fragment of which is given in his reply (§ 120). It is evident from all the reasoning of Æschines upon it, that there was such a law, and that it was not obsolete. But there appear to have been different interpretations put upon one part of it. After forbidding

any who were crowned by the tribes or the demes being proclaimed in the theatre, it seems to have added, as Dissen (*Dem. de Coron.*, § 120) supposes (see also §§ 44, 47): *μηθ' ὥπ' ἄλλον μηδενός (ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀναγορεύεσθαι στεφανούμενον), ἡ ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κῆρυκα, πλὴν ἐάν τινας δ' δῆμος ἡ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται. τούτους δ' ἀναγορεύετω.* The exception here made, *Æschines* (see §§ 47, 48) applies to crowns bestowed upon Athenian citizens by other states; such, he says, might indeed be proclaimed in the theatre, if the Senate or people voted so. It is obvious, however, that the clause is capable of a different interpretation, as applicable to special cases, where there was an express vote to proclaim a crown in the theatre. Besides, there can be no doubt that this was the common understanding of the passage, and that crowns were often bestowed to be proclaimed in accordance with it (see *Dem. de Coron.*, §§ 83, 213). And, in general, it is plain that both upon this and the previous point, while the common law, and perhaps common usage, were on the side of *Æschines*, special laws and usage were on the side of Ctesiphon. If there was no law and no usage in his favor, why was the proposition made in this form, when substantially the same ends might have been gained in a legal way? For certainly the mere place of the proclamation of the crown was of no account, and even according to *Æschines* (§ 31), if he had only added to the proposition to crown him, "when he has rendered up his accounts," the decree would have been legal on that point. In short, one familiar with the history of Athens at this period, and with all the circumstances connected with the present trial, cannot help feeling, to say the least, that the decree of Ctesiphon was not so inconsistent with the laws and usages of the times, as to have provoked a prosecution from any one but an imbibited enemy. And it is in this light that Demosthenes treats it in his reply (see §§ 12 – 16, 121, *et al.*).

37. *συνηγόρους*] “as supporters or advocates.” — *ὅπερ διατελῶ σπουδάζων*] “which I continually aim at or strive after,” i. e. to sustain all his points by laws. — *ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν*] “Lenis est metathesis pro *εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν* *ὑμῶν*.” Bremi.

38. *οὐτε ἡμέληται*] “nor has it been overlooked.” — *τῷ νομοθέτῃ*] See § 6, note. — *τοῖς θεσμοθέταις*] The Thesmothetæ (see § 13, note) were required to review the laws every year, that they might detect any inconsistencies or superfluities in them, and report upon the same to the people, who referred the necessary alterations to a committee called Nomothetæ. See Dict. Antiq. — *διορθοῦν*] “to rectify,” i. e. see that there were no conflicting or abrogated laws in the public records. See above. — *ἀναγέγραπται*] “Id est, κεῖται, ζετεῖν: verbum proprium de legislatione.” Bremi.

39. *σανίσιν*] That is, the *tablets* upon which the laws that needed revision were inscribed and exposed (*ἐκτιθέναι*) before the statues of the Eponymi (*Ἐπωνύμων*). — *ἐπιγράψαντας νομοθέτας*] “having inscribed upon the *call* (i. e. assigned) Nomothetæ.” This is the interpretation of F. A. Wolf, which seems to me much better than that of Schömann (Assemb. Ath., p. 249), which makes these words merely indicate the general subject to be attended to at the meeting (“having added,” i. e. as the subject of the meeting, “*Nomothetæ*”). The Nomothetæ seem to have been appointed by the Prytanes (see Dem. contr. Timoc., § 27). They were taken from such of the people as acted as jury-men for the year, and were, at one time, a thousand in number. Business was done before them as in a regular assembly of the people, of whom they constituted a part. I would suggest, therefore, that *τῷ δῆμῳ*, in the following clause, refers to them only, and that they, with the presiding officers and the advocates on each side, constituted the assembly which was to be called. If this be so, it is not necessary to suppose, with Schömann (Assemb. Ath., p.

248), that the reference here is to a *second* revision of the laws, at the direction of the Thesmothetæ, different from the ordinary annual revision, which in itself is very improbable, and is based upon this passage alone. See Schömann, pp. 246–249.

40. *παρὰ*] “from,” “coming from,” i. e. “uttered by.” — *ἡτοι . . . ἡ*] “Hoc ordine semper leguntur hæ particulae, non vice versa ἡ . . . ἡτοι. Prius membrum est vel admirantis vel mirantis, interdum tota disjunctio admirantis.” Bremi. — *ἀδύνατα γενέσθαι*] “unable to be,” “which cannot be.”

41. *ἐν ἀστει]* This, standing between the article and its noun, has an attributive relation to the noun (“the *city plays*”). These were distinguished from the country plays, both as to time and magnificence. This view of the case relieves the passage from all appearance of being a solecism on account of the use of *γιγνομένων*. — *οὐ πείσαντες τὸν δῆμον*] That is, without the vote of the people.

42. *προξενίας . . . εύρημένοι*] “having obtained the rights of a *πρόξενος*, or friendships.” — *εἰ οὖτω τύχοι*] “perchance.” — *ὁ τῶν Ροδίων*] That is, *ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ροδίων*.

43. *τοὺς μὲν . . . τοὺς δέ*] For the usage of *μέν* and *δέ*, see § 12, note.

44. *ἡνωχλεῖτο*] For the augment before the preposition, see K. § 126. 1. — *περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων*] In connection with the interpretation here given of the provisions of the law, see § 35, note.

45. *μὴ κηρύττεσθαι*] See § 35, note. — *ἐπανίζων*] “beginning.” — *ἀπούσης βουλῆς, κ. τ. λ.*] “the council being left out,” or “aside from the council,” etc. The part. expresses a condition. K. § 312. 4, d.

46. *ἄν . . . ἀναρρήθη*] “may have been proclaimed.” — *ἱερὸν εἶναι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς*] “to be a votive offering to Athene.” Just as the tripods of the victors in certain games were devoted to Apollo, and of the *Choregi* at the Dionysia

to Dionysus. I do not see, therefore, how this proves that foreign crowns are alluded to, unless it proves the same in the other case.—*τοσαύτην . . . Ἀθηναίων*] “to charge upon the people of Athens so great illiberality.” Verbs of accusing, when compounded with *κατά*, take the person in the genitive. K. § 292, R. 1.—*Μή γὰρ ὅτι . . . ἀλλ’ οὐδ’*] “*Μή* ellipticum est: *Μή γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνετε, ὅτι ἀν γένοιτο πόλις, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἀν ἴδιωτης . . . γένοιτο*, ne opinemini civitatem fore, sed ne fuerit quidem privatus tam illiberalis.” Bremi.—*τὴν ψυχήν*] Accusative of nearer definition. So below, § 47. K. § 279. 7.

47. *οὐκ . . . οὐδεὶς*] Observe the double negative,—one a direct negative, and the other a negative pronoun. Thus generally in Greek. K. § 318. 6.

48. *Τὸ γὰρ . . . λέγε*] “for say all the day what that *ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ* means,” i. e. spend the whole day in endeavouring to explain it away. This closes the second count in the indictment,—*The illegality of the proposition to proclaim the crown in the theatre.*

49. *ἐφ’ φι μάλιστα σπουδάζω*] “upon which I am specially earnest.” He now enters upon the discussion of the merits of Demosthenes, which had been put forward as the ground of the proposed honor. Upon this point he lays the greatest stress, and bestows his principal strength.

50. *μετὰ ταῦτα*] “after these things,” i. e. from this point.—*κρῖναι εὐμαθῆς*] “intelligible to judge.”—*τὸν μὲν . . . ἐμὲ*] “me, the accuser.”—*κατὰ Δημοσθένους*] “*Katá* proprium motum ex superiore loco in inferiorem locum significat; hinc tropice vel de vituperiis vel de laudibus dicitur, quae quasi dejiciuntur in aliquem, et facile intelligitur significacionem malam esse frequentiorem. Interdum tamen etiam in ejusmodi locutionibus reperitur, in quibus aut omnino significat quod attinet ad, aut in favorem, honorem. Vide § 241.” Bremi.—*τὴν γραφὴν ἀλώσεται*] “will be convicted on the indictment.” *ἀλίσκεσθαι* usually takes the gen-

itive of the crime or charge, like other verbs of convicting. For this construction, see § 232, note.—*ἀπαντες . . . ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ψηφίσμασι]* He denies that the merits of Demosthenes were such as described in the decree of Ctesiphon, and hence that his decree was illegal. This, therefore, is the third point to be made out,—*The illegality of the decree of Ctesiphon, on account of its false statement of the merits of Demosthenes.* —*τούναντίον τούτου]* “the opposite of this.” Governed by *δεικτέον ἔστιν*.

51. *ταῦτα]* “these things,” i. e. what follows. —*τὴν τοῦ τραύματος γραφῆν]* “the prosecution for wounding.” Such causes were tried before the Areopagus, and, in order to be sustained, required that purpose or forethought (*προνοίᾳ*) should be proved. Of the particular case here referred to nothing is known, as far as I am aware, beyond what is here said. —*τὴν Κηφισοδότου στρατηγίαν]* An Athenian general sent with a squadron to the Hellespont, who was supposed to have sacrificed the Athenian interests to Charidemus, in the terms upon which he received Alopeconnesus, and was deprived of his command in consequence. See the account of the affair in Dem. contr. Aristoc., pp. 675, seq. Demosthenes appears to have been in the squadron, and to have been honored by the presence of the general in the vessel (flag-ship) which he had equipped as trierarch. But I see nothing in this circumstance which should have prevented him from becoming his accuser, if he thought him guilty of the crime charged upon him. There does, however, seem to have been a sort of severity in the character of Demosthenes, as is evident from what Æschines says of him in this and other places, such as is often conjoined with a strong will and vigorous intellect, and uncompromising moral principles.

52. *ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας]* “by the process called *εἰσαγγελία*.” See § 3, note. —*καὶ ταῦτα ἥδη, κ. τ. λ.]* This affair with Meidias seems to have been much more disgraceful on the part of his

adversary than on the part of Demosthenes. Meidias was a wealthy and influential citizen, who, with a sort of purse-proud insolence, undertook to domineer over Demosthenes, and annoy him in every possible way, till he finally struck him with his fist (*κονδύλους*) while acting as *χορηγός* in the theatre. Demosthenes prosecuted him for impiety (as the offence was committed at the festival of Dionysus), and obtained a sort of preliminary decision of the people (*καταχειροτονίαν*) in his favor; but, on account of the great wealth and influence of Meidias, as is supposed, settled the case for a sum of money before it was brought before the regular tribunal. It is probable, therefore, that the oration of Demosthenes against Meidias, which is extant, was never delivered. For the nature and object of the *καταχειροτονία*, spoken of in the text, see Schöm., Assemb. Ath., p. 230.

53. *τὸν ἀγῶνα καταχαριζόμενος*] “*Καταχαρίζεσθαι* est prodere aliquid contra jus fasque in gratiam alicujus.” Bremi. — *ἀπαντήσῃ*] “may fall to,” “may be awarded to.” Being intransitive, it is constructed like a passive verb. K. § 249. 3. — *ὅτῳ*] “against whomsoever.” Dat. of disadvantage.

54. *Περὶ δὲ*] *δὲ* stands opposed to *μὲν* at the beginning of § 51, where he commences speaking of the private misdeeds of Demosthenes, as he here proposes to speak of his public misdeeds. — *ὁ λόγος*] “the speech,” i. e. “the customary opportunity of replying.” — *ὡς ἄρα*] See § 137, note. Demosthenes makes no such division of his public life, but considers the history of the first two periods as wholly irrelevant to the cause, and hence, after having briefly replied to some of the charges of Aeschines pertaining to them, commences at the third period. See De Coron., § 6, note. — *ἐν φ . . . επολεμοῦμεν*] That is, eleven years, from B. C. 335 to 346,—from the taking of Amphipolis by Philip to the peace of Philocrates, here spoken of.

55. *ἡγομεν]* “we were enjoying.” The peace continued, nominally, seven years, till B. C. 339, when Demosthenes,

after Philip had virtually been at war with them for years, finally induced the Athenians formally to renew hostilities with him. — *τῆς ἀτυχίας*] “the mishap.” A euphemism. The reference is to the unfortunate battle of Chæroneia, in which the Athenians and Thebans received a signal defeat from Philip, that secured his supremacy in Greece. This occurred in the year following the renewal of hostilities. The fourth period referred to is that of the humiliation of Athens under Philip and Alexander, which ensued. — *ἐγκαλύπτωμαι καὶ ἀποδιδράσκω*] “cover my face (i. e. from shame) and slink away.” In other places *ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι* means, “to cover the face *from grief*,” i. e. to grieve.

56. *ἰσχυρίζηται*] “*Ισχυρίζεσθαι* de pertinace dicitur, qui superbe et importune, non argumentorum pondere, sed sua unius auctoritate nixus, aliquid ita esse asseverat, ut ipse pronuntiet, et mendacia dicere eos, qui aliud quid affirmant.” Bremi. — *σοι*] Governed by *ἀποκρίνομαι*, below. — *καιρῶν*] This denotes that *relative to which* he accused him. Thus also § 55 (K. § 273. 4, f.). Generally, *κατηγορεῖν* governs the gen. of person and acc. of thing. K. § 292. R.

57. *κἄγω*] That is, “and if I.” The influence of *ἄν* extends to this clause also. — *ἄ σοι σύνοιδα*] “which I know in common with you.” — *τὸν φιλανθρώπων . . . χρησαμένους*] “Intelligit sobriam et humanam rerum civilium rationem, alienam a superbia et arrogantia.” Bremi. — *τάξει*] “order,” “arrangement.” — *Καὶ δὴ . . . εἰρήνην*] “and now I take myself back to the peace.” *δὴ* is employed here in resuming the discourse at the point from which he had departed. Thus often.

58. *τὴν προτέραν ἐκείνην εἰρήνην*] That is, the peace of Philocrates, made with Philip at the close of the Amphipolitan war (B. C. 346), as distinguished from the peace of Demades, made after the battle of Chæroneia (B. C. 338). — *κοινοῦ συνεδρίου Ἑλλήνων*] That is, a congress, not only of the regular allies of Athens, but of as many of the Greek

states as they could induce to join them in conducting their negotiations with Philip. This is evident from what follows, as well as from *Æsch. de F. L.*, p. 35. It is clear that Demosthenes, for certain reasons (see Thirlwall, chap. 44), was anxious to conclude the peace as soon as possible, but that he prevented its being made in conjunction with a common council of the Greeks is not so clear. The facts in the case, after weighing carefully the contradictory statements of the rival orators, seem to be something as follow. Æschines proposed such a council about a year before the discussions upon the peace, and, in pursuance of his plan, himself went on an embassy to Megalopolis (*Dem. de F. L.*, p. 344); but, as is evident from his own statement (*F. L.*, p. 38), the plan was never carried out, or was unsuccessful, as none came to their aid up to the time of the proposed peace. As to the pretence of Æschines, that certain ambassadors were sent out, at the time of the discussions on the peace, for the purpose of inviting the coöperation of the other states, and that the congress of the allies at Athens proposed at that time (see *Æsch. de F. L.*, p. 35) to wait till their return, this seems improbable on many grounds, but, especially, is contradicted by Æschines himself, in the account which he gives of the contents of the decree of the allies, in the present oration (§ 70), and is expressly denied by Demosthenes (*De Coron.*, §§ 23, 24). There was, however, as is admitted by both orators, a congress of Greeks at Athens at that time, which, therefore, must have been wholly, or mostly, a congress of the regular allies of Athens. And these, as it would seem from an expression of Demosthenes (*F. L.*, § 16), had been called together in pursuance of the plan of Æschines, above named. This view of the case, it is believed, will sufficiently account for all the statements of the rival orators on the point.—*τινες*] That is, Demosthenes and his party.—*ἡτε ἐκπεπομφότες*] Lit., “were, having sent out,” i. e. “had sent

out." The periphrastic form expresses better the state of *expectancy*, which he pretends they were in, in *consequence* of the embassies which they had despatched.—*καὶ . . . ἀπολαβεῖν]* To be joined with *ποιήσασθαι*, before the intermediate clauses.—*τὴν ἡγεμονίαν*] "the primacy," "the supremacy." That is, "a leading and controlling position among the Greek states."

59. *ἐξαίφνης*] "suddenly," "unexpectedly." This shows that the public sentiment was in danger of being shocked by the charge (§ 227) of corruption made against Demosthenes. Demosthenes, in his reply, in alluding to the figure of the accounts, which follows, makes an admirable use of the current opinion in his favor, which is so clearly implied in the language of Aeschines.—*ἐκείνως*] "in that way," "thus," i. e. as in the case of the accounts. It is used instead of *οὗτως*, because it refers to the illustration, and hence to what is more remote, like *ἐκείνος*. It is more fully explained by the sentence with *Οὗτω*, at the beginning of § 60.—*χρημάτων ἀνηλωμένων*] "money expended," i. e. by some one to whom it had been intrusted.—*ἐπὶ τὸν λογισμούς*] "for the accounts," i. e. to obtain the results of casting up the account.—*συγκεφαλαιωθῆ]* "may have been summed up."—*ὅστις*] Strictly *ὅστε* is required here, to correspond to *οὗτω*, but the adjective clause is often used in the place of the adverbial clause, introduced by *ὅστε*. K. § 334. 2. — *aīp̄h̄*] "may carry," "may establish," "prove."

60, 61. *ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν χρόνων*] "from the former times," "in former times." To be connected with *ἔχοντες* rather than *ἡκουσιν*, but perhaps influenced by that to take *ἐκ* for *ἐν*. However, see Dem. Pop. Orat., p. 148 (Philip. I. § 1).—*ἀπογνώτω . . . καταγνώτω*] "Judicandi verba, quæ cum *ἀπό* composita sunt, significationem habent absolvendi, quæ cum *κατά*, condemnandi." Bremi.—*πρὶν ἀκούσῃ*] The subj. after *πρὶν* is occasionally found thus without *ἄν* in the Attic writers. K. § 337, R. 3.—*μὲν (πλείω μὲν)* . . .

δὲ . . . δὲ . . . δὲ] See § 31. — ἐξ ἀρχῆς] Bears an attributive relation to εἰρήνης (“the *original* peace,” i. e. the first peace, or the peace in its incipient state).

62. ἐγράφη παρανόμων] “was accused of illegality,” “was indicted as illegal.” Thus generally the pass. of γράφειν is used; so in the middle, “indicting.” See γραψάμενος, following. — συναπελογεῖτο . . . Δημοσθένης] This does not seem to imply any *political* connection with Philocrates, any more than the defending of one in our courts implies such a connection with him. — δ χρόνος] That is, *the time* for making the peace. — οὐτε λαχών . . . πριάμενος] “having obtained the place neither as principal nor substitute, but having purchased it by arrangement.” The reference seems to be to the abuse of the lottery principle, before alluded to (§ 3, note). In choosing public officers, substitutes were chosen to take the place of the principal, in case of his failure for any reason, which accounts for the use of λαχών and ἐπιλαχών. — εἰς ὑποδοχὴν] “by way of supporting.”

63. Νικᾷ] “carries” (lit. “conquers”). So also with γνώμη, as Plat. Gorg. 456. A: οἱ νικῶντες τὰς γνώμας. — ἐν φ . . . πρέσβεις] This was the first embassy (*περὶ εἰρήνης*). — σπείσασθαι] “to give pledges of safe conduct to,” i. e. in coming to Athens and returning. — ἀκόλουθα] “in keeping with *Philocrates*,” i. e. in keeping with what Philocrates proposed. It is of the nature of what is called the *compendious comparison*. K. § 323, R. 6.

64. Τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα] Lit. “the after these things,” “in relation to what followed.” An adverbial acc. K. § 279, R. 10. — Ἐπράττετο] “it was effected,” “brought about.” This, it will be observed, is followed by ὅπως μή, first with the subj. (*περιμείνητε, ποιήσησθε*), and then with the fut. (*ψηφιεῖσθε*). This is to give greater animation to the discourse, representing what was past as present. K. § 330, R. 1. The subj. and fut. differ in this, that the fut. represents the idea as definite and actual, while the subj. represents it as

contingent. K. § 330. 6. This charge of cöoperating with Philocrates Demosthenes expressly denies, and throws it upon Æschines and his friends. See De Coron., § 21. — *πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, κ. τ. λ.*] *πρὸς*, “out of regard to,” “by means of,” “on the part of.” This sense grows out of the original meaning of *πρὸς* (in the presence of). — *συκοφαντηέντας*] “slandered.” — *ὑστερον*] That is, after their return from the second embassy, when Demosthenes accused his colleagues, and especially Æschines, of malversation. See the orations of Demosthenes and Æschines, De Falsa Legatione. — *παρακαλοῦντες*] “stimulating,” “stirring up,” i. e. the Greeks (see § 68). Refers back to the subject of *περιμείνητε* (i. e. the Athenians), and not to *πρέσβεις*.

65. *προσέχοιεν . . . νμετέρω*] “should think of joining themselves to your democratic ranks.” *προσέχειν* in this sense usually has *τὸν νοῦν* (lit. “to turn the attention to”) with it. See Dem. Olynth. II., § 13; Philip. I., § 6. *τῷ πλήθει* does not denote mere *multitude*, but the *character* of the Athenian party. (See Xen. Mem. I. 2. 43.) The Athenians formed the rallying point for all the democratical states. — *Κερσοβλέπτης*] Why Kersobleptes was not included in the treaty of peace with Philip is uncertain. The reason here assigned is the least probable of all. It is most probable, that Kersobleptes was not fairly entitled to be considered as an ally of Athens, and, as such, was excluded by Philip, according to the terms of the treaty (see Thirlwall, chap. 44). His ruin, together with that of the Phocians, is ascribed by Demosthenes, with much more plausibility, to the unnecessary delays made by Æschines and his friends in obtaining the ratification of the treaty from Philip. See De Coron., §§ 30–40. — *Παρηγγέλλετο . . . στρατεία*] “But already an expedition (i. e. made by Philip) was announced against him (Kersobleptes).”

66. *ὁ μὲν ἔξωνούμενος*] That is, Philip. *He* did nothing out of the way, the orator says, in purchasing these advan-

tages, but the traitors who sold them to him deserved eternal reprobation.—*μισαλέξανδρος . . . μισοφίλιππος*] Adjectives formed from proper names, as verbs often are, in Greek.—*δ τὴν . . . Ἀλεξάνδρου*] See the keen retort of Demosthenes on this point, De Coron., §§ 51, 52.—*τῇ ὁγδῷ . . . μηνός*] For the method of reckoning the days of the months at Athens, see Dem. de Coron., § 29, note.

67. *ὅτε τὴν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ, κ. τ. λ.*] This, of course, indicates haste; but it is admitted that Demosthenes was anxious to conclude the peace as soon as possible, and for good reasons. See § 58.

68. *τὰ Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἀστεῖ]* The city Dionysia were the Great Dionysia, which, it seems from this place compared with § 67, occurred somewhere between the 8th and 18th of Elaphebolion. Besides this festival to Dionysus, there were, also, the Lesser Dionysia and the Lenaea. See Dem. de Coron., § 54, note.

69. *'Επειδὴ . . . ἐκκλησίαι]* “When now, Athenians, the Dionysia had passed,—but in the mean time there were two assemblies.” What intervenes between *Διονύσια* and the beginning of § 71 is a sort of parenthesis, consisting of intermediate clauses preparing the way for the apodosis to the clause beginning with *'Επειδὴ*. However, on account of the great number of these intermediate clauses, the structure of sentence is changed, and what is the apodosis in sense is expressed independently. The main idea is, that when the festival of Dionysus had passed, and the assemblies occurred, he advocated the decree of the allies. But this main idea is modified by the intervening clauses. This anacoluthon, as it were, accounts for the use of *δὲ* after *ἐγίγνοντο*. For a similar construction after *ἐπειδὴ*, see Dem. de Coron., § 126.—*ἔγραψαν]* Supply *οἱ σύμμαχοι* from *τῶν συμμάχων*.—*καὶ]* “even” (“even the peace, *much more the alliance*”).

70. *ἰασόμενοι]* “intending to cure or remedy.” Fut. part.—*καὶ προσέγραψαν, κ. τ. λ.*] This, probably, is the true ac-

count of the purport of the decree of the allies. See § 58. — *στήλην*] “Suidas: στήλη ἡ λίθος ἡ χαλχὸς ἐπιμήκης, τετραγώνῳ σχήματι ἰδρυμένος. Quicquid publicæ memoriae mandari volebant, ejusmodi columnis inscribebatur. Cujus rei varia exempla habet Suidas.” Bremi. — *τριμήνου*] An adjective agreeing with *περιόδου*, understood.

71. *πάντες*] Understand *συνείπον*, to be supplied from *συνειπεῖν*. K. § 346. 2, a. — *προκαταλαμβάνων . . . βῆμα*] But how can this be, when Aeschines himself, in another place (F. L., § 69), says, that, by a decree of Demosthenes, no speaking was allowed on the second day?

72. *ἀπορρήξαι*] “to break,” “to separate.” Depends upon *δεῖν*. I see nothing so harsh in the metaphor as Aeschines affects to (*διὰ τὴν ἀγδίαν*). See § 166, note. — *τελευτῶν*] “finally.” See Dem. Pop. Orat., VIII. § 49, note. — *Ἀντίπατρον*] One of Philip’s ambassadors, probably the same who was afterwards one of the generals of Alexander. — *προειπὼν . . . ἀποκρίνασθαι*] That is, by a previous arrangement between them — *τέλος*] “in the end,” “finally.” Adverbial acc. Often used thus. See Soph. Antig., 233. — *ἐνίκα*] “prevailed.” Takes *ταῦτ’* as nom., and has no objective. Thus often. See Dem. Philip. I., § 51.

73. *αὐτοῖς*] Demosthenes and Philocrates. — *τὸν . . . ποιῆσαι*] “to abandon the region on the coast of Thrace,” i. e. the Cherronesus. For *τόπος* = *regio*, see Dem. Pop. Orat., IV. § 32. The periphrasis *ἐκδοτον ποιῆσαι* is equivalent to *ἐκδοῦναι*. — *ἔκτῃ φθίνοντος*] That is, as Elaphebolion had twenty-nine days in this year (see Franke’s Chronological Table to the Philippics), the *twenty-fourth day*. On this day (see § 74) the allies were required to confirm the treaty; that is, five days after it was voted in the Assembly.

74. *Λανθάνει . . . παρεγγύραψας*] “slyly inserts.” Lit. “escapes, having inserted.” *λανθάνει* is understood, also, with *ἐπιψηφίσας* (“slyly puts it to the vote”).

75. *πρόεδρος*] “presiding officer.” See § 3. The refer-

ence is to Demosthenes. — Καλόν . . . φυλακή] The public records at Athens were kept under the custody of the public scribe in the Metroum, or temple of the mother of the gods, the key of which was intrusted to the care of the president of the presiding tribe for the time being (*ἐπιστάτης*). See Schom., Assemb. Ath., p. 131. — αὐτομολοῦσιν] “αὐτομολεῖν proprie dicuntur milites, qui ad hostes transfugiunt. In re civili facile transfertur ad eos, qui alio tempore alias partes secuti, modo in perniciem patriæ aperte agunt, modo in ejus salutem agere se simulant.” Bremi.

76. προεδρίαν] “the front seat,” i. e. in the theatre of Dionysus, at the Great Dionysia, which occurred while the ambassadors of Philip were at Athens. As there was no special minister of foreign affairs at Athens, foreign ambassadors were received and the usual courtesies were shown them by some one of the senators. As Demosthenes had recently visited the court of Philip, on an embassy connected with the same subject, this office was very properly assumed by him in the present case. See the reply of Demosthenes on this point, De Coron., § 28. — καὶ . . . περιεπέτασε] In order to make their seats comfortable. — ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ] For the purpose of securing the best seats. — προϊπεμψεν] “escorted,” “accompanied.”

77. μέγεθος] “in extent,” “degree.” See § 17. — κατασκόπων] “spies,” i. e. at the court of Philip, to report any matters of interest relative to him. — συμπλάσας] “having feigned or made up.” This feigning a vision, which is attested also by Plutarch, seems puerile, to say the least, to us; but was undoubtedly a stroke of policy, to give greater weight to the event, and call out from a superstitious people a more enthusiastic demonstration of feeling on the occasion. It must be looked upon, at the worst, as a sort of pious fraud, invented for the purpose of committing the people, by an enthusiastic demonstration, more thoroughly against the Macedonian power, and awakening a new spirit of patriotism. — μεθ' ἡμέ-

ραν ἐπιορκῶν] “swearing falsely by, by day.” This is said, perhaps, with more special reference to the present case, but also as descriptive of his general character. — *ἔβδόμην . . . ποιῆσαι*] The customary period of mourning for the dead was probably thirty days, during which time certain outward signs of grief were assumed, and various sacrifices and ceremonies were performed in their honor. See Becker’s Charicles, p. 294. — *παρηνόμει*] “committed an outrage,” “violated the laws of propriety,” i. e. in the act referred to. For the augment of the verb, see K. § 126. 5. — *τὴν μόνην . . . ἀπολέσας*] “wretched man, having lost his only daughter, and the first to call him father.” This sacrificing private grief to the public interest is an honor, rather than a reproach, to Demosthenes. See Plutarch, Life of Demosthenes.

78. *Kαὶ οὐ . . . εἴετάζω*] “and I am not charging this impropriety upon him as a mere reproach, but am exhibiting his character.” He makes it a test of character, and attempts to prove by it much more, with regard to the general character of his adversary, I apprehend, than intelligent readers will think he succeeds in doing. Indeed, the extremity to which he carries the point, as is the case also with some others, has rather a sinister appearance. It looks as though he was hard pushed for arguments. — *οὐδέ γε . . . οὐκ*] The negative here is repeated by *οὐκ*, as in the other sentences by the negative adverb, perhaps by an unconscious imitation of their structure, or it may be, as Bremi supposes, because the force of *οὐδέ* was not felt, on account of the interposition of several words. See § 194. — *τρόπον . . . τόπον*] Paronomasia. The passage reminds one of that line of Horace (Epist. I. 11. 27) : —

“Cœlum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.”

79. *ἥλθε*] That is, Demosthenes. — *Δημοσθένει*] Governed by *τῶν αὐτῶν*. K. § 284. 3. (4). — *φυγὰς . . . γε-*

γένηται] “has been arraigned by a summary process” (lit., “has been a defendant by *εἰσαγγελία*”). See § 52. — *ἐπέστη]* “Hoc verbum significat Demosthenem repente et contra omnium opinionem accusatoris partes suscepisse.” Bremi. — *τὰς ἀτυχίας]* “the misfortunes,” i. e. those familiar to all. Referring to the disasters which befell them in the contest with Philip, to which Demosthenes instigated them.

80. *ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε]* See § 73, note. — *περαιτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ]* “more than there was any occasion for,” “more than was proper.” On the return of the ambassadors from the second embassy, Æschines, in his report to the Assembly, according to Demosthenes, had assured the people, that if Philip was allowed to pass Thermopylæ, and make an expedition into Greece, he would chastise their enemies, the Thebans, and, especially, would relieve from their tyranny the Bœotian towns, just the reverse of which happened. See the charge of Demosthenes, F. L., p. 347, and the unsatisfactory reply of Æschines, F. L., pp. 43, 44. — *ἐσκευαγήσατε]* “Cuneta, quæ moveri poterant, in urbe transveexistis: quod est metuentis, ne hosti repente irrumpenti resisti nullo modo possit.” Bremi. — *ἐν . . . αἰτίαις]* “were in the greatest accusations,” “lay under the heaviest charges.”

81. *ὑπὲρ ὃν . . . διενεχθῆναι]* “about which also you suspected they differed.” The subject of their difference is not named, as being sufficiently well known. — *μετὰ τῶν, κ. τ. λ.]* “in conjunction with,” &c. What these *innate diseases* or *vices* of his nature were, is explained below, by *δειλίας*, &c.

82. *ἡσυχίᾳ]* “peace,” “quiet” (“those opposing the peace of the city,” i. e. the war party, to which Demosthenes belonged). — *παριὼν]* “coming forward to the bema.” — *Σέρριον τεῖχος, κ. τ. λ.]* These were fortresses on the coast of Thrace, in the vicinity of the Sacred Mountain, so called, and belonged to the kingdom of Kersobleptes, but were

defended by Athenian troops (Philip. III., § 15). Philip, availing himself of the opportunity afforded by the delays in negotiating the peace, had taken possession of them. Many of these places, at least, were not so unknown or unimportant as is pretended by Æschines. Demosthenes frequently alludes to the taking of these places by Philip, in his extant orations delivered about this time. (See F. L., § 156; De Cherson., § 64; Philip. III., § 15.) It is worth observing, however, that in neither place are all the names found which are here given by Æschines, who evidently, in ridicule, throws together a number of obscure names, as a sort of jumble. It is in this light that Demosthenes views them in his reply (§ 27). — *Kαὶ ἐς τοῦτο . . . πράγματα*] “and speedily brought the affairs to this state.” For this usage of *φέρων*, see K. § 312, R. 9.

83. *πόλει . . . δόμοιᾳ*] “to some just and impartial city,” i. e. as an arbiter. — *‘Αλόνησον . . . διαφερόμενος*] “he (i. e. Philip) gave Halonnesus; but he dissuaded from receiving it, if he *gives* it instead of giving it *back*, differing about syllables.” Demosthenes claimed that it was already their own, and could not be accepted as a mere gift (see Orat. de Halon.). The passage reminds one of the terms employed by politicians about the reception of Texas, as to whether it should be *annexed* or *re-annexed*. — *Kαὶ τὸ, κ. τ. λ.*] This expedition seems to have been undertaken about the time of that to Ambracia (B. C. 343). See Thirlwall, chap. 45. — *τὴν δὲ συμφορὰν*] “the calamity,” i. e. their defeat at Chæroneia.

84. *Nαι, κ. τ. λ.*] He here enters upon the examination of the alliance which Demosthenes entered into with the Eubœans for resisting Philip. That entered into with the Thebans he defers to § 137, seq. See the reply of Demosthenes to the charges which follow, De Coron., § 95, seq.

85. *ἡδικημένοι ὑπὸ Μνησάρχου*] “Quas injurias passi sint Athenienses a Mnesarcho et quo tempore, nusquam potui

invenire." Bremi. — 'Αθηναίοις . . . γράφειν] "dares propose to become Athenians," i. e. to grant them citizenship at Athens. This was often granted to public benefactors, such as they were (see §§ 95, 96), and the injuries done the state by their father constituted no reason for refusing to honor his sons. — ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος τοῦ Ἐρετριέως] "by Themison of Eretria," i. e. having been injured by him. Eretria, as well as Chalcis, was a town in Euboea. Oropus, which he took from the city, was an Athenian town opposite Eretria, across the Euripus, the strait or sea which separates Eubœa from Attica. For the defence of Demosthenes, see De Coron., as above. — ἐκόντες ἐπιλανθανόμενοι] Agree with the subject of ἐβοηθήσατε. This expedition to expel the Thebans was a very brilliant affair. It took place, B. C. 358, in the archonship of Cephisodotus. Demosthenes (De Coron., § 99) makes use of this very expedition, among others, in justifying himself in entering into alliance with the Eubœans, notwithstanding the many injuries they had done Athens.

86. πλουτάρχῳ βοηθήσοντες] That is, against his subjects, the Eretrians, headed by Clitarchus, and urged on, probably, by Philip. This expedition was conducted by Phocion (B. C. 350). — ἀλλ' οὖν] "at least," "certainly," i. e. "if nothing else, they *at least* professed," &c. See § 11, note. — Ταμύνας] "Tamynæ." The place where they conquered the enemy. This being accomplished, the Grecian force seems to have been betrayed by Plutarchus, in concert with Callias, and, in their isolated position, to have narrowly escaped being captured.

87. μὴ νικήσασι μάχην] "unless they gained a battle." μὴ is used with the part. because it is equivalent to a conditional sentence (K. § 318. 5). For the construction, see § 63. — ὁ τ' . . . διαβιβάσας] "and what his brother Taurosthenes, who is now (i. e. since his adoption as an Athenian citizen) saluting and smiling upon all, *had col-*

lected, having transported the Phocian mercenaries." The Phocians, at this time (during the Phocian war), were well-trained soldiers.

89. *ἡκε φερόμενος . . . φύσιν*] "he went borne on to his own nature," "he returned headlong to his old practices," i. e. of acting in bad faith. For *φερόμενος*, see § 82. — *τῷ λόγῳ . . . ἔργῳ*] "in pretence . . . in reality." He professed to be merely forming a congress of deputies from the different towns, but was really, as Æschines contends, devising plans for excluding the Athenian influence, and establishing himself in power.

90. *καὶ πλείους . . . Εὐρίπον*] "and having turned more turns than the Euripus," i. e. many sudden turns, the ebbing and flowing of the Euripus being frequent and violent. See Liv. XXVIII. 6. Hence *Εὐριπος ἄνθρωπος* became a proverb for an inconstant man. See Plat. Phæd., 90. C. — *Ἀπορῶν δ' ὃ τι χρήσαιτο αὐτῷ*] "Formula, qua quis significatur summis premi angustiis, nec ullam salutem undecunque sperare posse." Bremi. — *ἔνορκον λαβεῖν*] "to bind by an oath," i. e. by forming an alliance with them. — *κωλύσετε*] "should hinder." Thus the fut. is often used after an historical tense. K. § 255. 3.

91. *τὸν δολιχοδρομήσαντα*] "the *δολιχος* runner," "the redoubtable." The *δολιχος* was the long course, opposed to the *στάδιον*. See Xen. Anab., IV. 8. 27. — *ἔξωνεῖτο*] That is, of Demosthenes and his party. The numerous and sweeping charges of corruption brought by Æschines against Demosthenes, unsustained, as they are, by any adequate proof, excite the suspicion that none of them are true. — *συνεδρεύειν*] "to sit in the council of the allies," i. e. that the Chalcidians should not be required to be represented at Athens, as the other allies were, but might have a separate congress in their own country. It was all-important, of course, that, in resisting Philip, Athens should have allies, which were to be obtained on such terms as they could be.

92. *μισοτύραννος*] Demosthenes was a stern democrat, and the uncompromising enemy of monarchical and oligarchical governments. See his oration, "For the Liberty of the Rhodians." — *ἀντὶ τούτων*] "as an offset to these things." That is, they were bound by the treaty of alliance to assist the Athenians, as the Athenians were bound to assist them; but this obligation, he says, on the part of the Chalcidians, was a mere form.

93. *τῷ λόγῳ προσβιβάζων ὑμᾶς*] "Blandis et speciosis verbis ad sententiam suam perducens. In MSS., fere confunditur cum *προβιβάζειν*, quod est impellere bona plerumque significatione." Bremi. — *τὰς μὲν . . . εὐεργεσίας*] "first to furnish aid to those of the Greeks who always need it, and subsequently alliance, after these favors."

94. *εἰς Ὡρεοῦ*] Another city of Eubœa, which Demosthenes released from the peculiar duties of allies (representation at Athens and taxation), that it might join the Eubœan congress. — *ἔλαθον ὑφελόμενοι*] "unperceived took away." The object of Demosthenes in promoting a confederation of the Eubœan cities was, to present an effectual barrier to the Macedonian ascendency.

96. *δι' ἀπορρήτων*] "by secret means," "secretly," i. e. that they might not be known to Philip. Opposed to *φανερά*, above.

97. *ἢν ἐπρέσβευσε*] "Demosthenes legationem in Peloponnesum obibat Ol. CIX. 1 (A. C. 343). Fortasse rediens ex Peloponneso Acarniam, regionem in occidentali Helladis parte non inopem, adiit." Bremi. — *εἰς*] "for" ("for furnishing of," &c., "for ten thousand foot-soldiers," &c.).

98. *τὰς πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις*] "forces from the cities." Opposed to *σύνταγμα χρημάτων*, and hence the *μὲν* and *δὲ*. Undoubtedly the hopes of Demosthenes, with regard to assistance from other states in the contest with Philip, were much

beyond the reality, but not so extravagant, probably, as is here represented.

99. *τοῦτο . . . ποιεῖ*] “for the man does this on peculiar and not on common principles.” *ἄνθρωπος* is for δ *ἄνθρωπος*. See Dem. de Coron., § 139. All that is said on this point, instead of being a reproach, is an honor to Demosthenes, since all goes to show that he was honest in his expectations of aid, though interpreted differently by Æschines. — *κλέπτων*] “deceiving,” “cheating.” So, also, § 35.

100. *μακρότερον μὲν τῆς Ἰλίαδος*] A pretty good hit, as Demosthenes was famous for his long decrees. See De Coron., § 181. — *Ἀπαγαγὼν . . . ἐλπίδων*] “having led you far away from the artifice, and suspended you upon hopes.” *ἀποθεν* forms a parallelism, and makes the idea more intense. — *συστρέψας*] “having collected himself,” = *summis viribus*. Used especially of beasts. See Plat. Rep., 336. B. — *οἵτινες . . . εἰναι*] “who shall ask the same people to consider themselves as friends and enemies to the Athenians,” i. e. to enter into an alliance of such a nature as to imply this; since they were to be on friendly terms, and yet to pay no tribute, and do them no service, like enemies.

101. *Ἐπειτα . . . διδόναι*] “Deinde præter cetera omnia aperte in decreto in fraudem scripsit, ut quinque talenta Oritas legati juberent non vobis, sed Calliae tradere.” Rauchenstein. — *ἀφελῶν*] “having laid aside,” “stripped off.” — *ἄψαι*] “touch,” “seize upon,” “detect.” See § 237. — *ὑφεῖλετο*] “unconsciously took from you,” “practised upon you.”

102. *λόγῳ . . . ἔργῳ*] See § 89, note.

103. *Κλειτάρχου*] He succeeded Plutarchus (§ 86) as king of Eretria, having been established in his place by Philip. Demosthenes, in his reply (§ 81), refers to the expedition which he despatched, under Phocion, for the expulsion of this tyrant and Philistides, tyrant of Oreus, as

evidence of his proof against corruption, and charges Æschines with corruption, on the ground of his having entertained their ambassadors when they visited Athens. — *καταφανῆς ἐγένετο*] “he became evident,” i. e. receiving the talent from them. Because, as he goes on to say, after the expulsion of their king they became a democracy, and hence transacted all business by votes, of which one existed, he pretends, upon this subject. The discrepancies between this passage and the corresponding passage in the reply of Demosthenes, especially the fact that Demosthenes makes no allusion to this pretended vote of the Oreans, have led to the conjecture, that this passage must have been greatly changed by the orator, after the delivery of the oration, on its publication. This seems very probable. Indeed, the corresponding passage in Demosthenes does not seem at all as though it were framed as a reply to such a passage as this.

104. *ὅτι . . . δέοιτο*] “that he did not want most worthless brass.” What he did want is expressed by the infin. which follows. — *ιπέθεσαν*] “pledged.” — *δραχμὴν . . . μνᾶς*] “a drachma per month for each mina.” Observe the distributive use of the article. As a drachma was a hundredth part of the mina, this was *twelve per cent. per annum*. This whole account is so extravagant as to make it not only incredible, but ridiculous.

106. *'Ενταῦθ'] “here,” “at this point.” He passes now to the third period of his public life,—that in which they were avowedly at war with Philip, and which ended in the disastrous battle of Chæroneia. See § 55.*

107. *Κιρρᾶῖον . . . πεδίον*] On the Corinthian Gulf, around the ancient city of Cirrha, or Crissa, which, before its destruction on account of its ill treatment of pilgrims to the temple, was the port of Delphi. See Demosthenes’s account of the transactions here referred to, *De Coron.*, § 149, seq. — *ἐξάγιστος καὶ ἐπάρατος*] “devoted and ac-

cursed." Why it was thus styled appears from what follows. — *μαντείαν . . . θεῷ*] "sought an oracle at the temple of (*παρὰ*) the god." — *μετελθεῖν*] "to pursue."

108. *ἡ Πνυθία*] The priestess of Apollo, who presided at the oracle and gave the responses. — *ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀεργίᾳ*] "to perpetual waste or desolation." — *Προνοίᾳ*] "goddess of forethought." In this character she was worshipped at Delphi, in conjunction with the other divinities here named.

109. *ἔχωσαν*] "filled up." — *αὐτοῖς*] "themselves," i. e. the Amphictyons. It is in the nom. by attraction, to agree with the subject of the preceding verb. K. § 307. 4.

110. *ἀράν*] "imprecation." — *ἐναγήσ]* "accursed of." This takes the gen. from the idea of separation which it contains.

111. *ἐπεύχεται*] "Scilicet: *ἡ ἀρά*, quod subjectum est etiam ad antecedens interjectum *φησί*." Bremi. — *τέρατα*] "monsters." — *ἄγορῶν*] "Id est, *ἐκκλησιῶν*, Homericō loquendi usu. Cf. Schoemann de com., p. 28." Bremi. — *μηδὲ . . . ιερά*] "nor even would they (i. e. the gods referred to) receive at their hands the sacrifices." The dat. here seems to be causal in its character ("out of regard to them," "on their account"). In repeating the phrase (§ 121) he uses the gen. of the person.

112. *Oū πρὶν, κ. τ. λ.*] "Omnino factum videtur mihi sæpius, ut in locis, ubi deessent scita, leges aliae litteræ publicæ, sic unde nota essent, aut ex ipsa oratione suppleri possent, a doctis lectoribus insererentur. Pro tali habuerim etiam fragmentum oraculi apud Aeschinem in Ctesiph., p. 503. R." F. A. Wolf.

113. *πυλαγόρων*] "pylagoræ." One class of deputies to the Amphictyonic Council. See Dem. de Coron., § 148, note.

114. *ἐφ' ὅτε*] "upon condition that." The agreement with him, that he should be feed yearly, was made upon condition that he should defend them, &c. — *ὅθεν*] That

is, from receiving of this money thus sacrilegiously obtained. This, he says, made him more ill-starred than before, so that he involved in ill fortune whatever he touched. See the most masterly comparison of their fortunes which Demosthenes goes into, in reply to this taunt, De Coron., §§ 256 – 266.

115. Ἐπὶ γὰρ . . . ἀρχοντος] That is, B. C. 340.—ιερομημόνος] For the character and duties of this class of deputies to the Amphictyonic Council, see Dem. de Coron., §§ 148, 149, note.—Ἀναφλυστίου] “Anaphlistian.” It denotes the *deme* or borough to which he belonged.—Μειδίαν] A violent enemy of Demosthenes, before referred to. See § 52.—πυρέττειν] “to fall sick of a fever.”

116. ὑποπεπτωκότες] “having devoted themselves to.” —εἰσέφερον δόγμα, κ. τ. λ.] Demosthenes (De Coron., § 150) denies this, since such a measure could not have been proposed without a special summons having been served upon the Athenians, to appear and defend themselves against the charge. The crime for which they were to be fined, according to Æschines, was for dedicating certain shields, in an unfinished chapel at Delphi, with an inscription commemorating their ancient victory over the Persians and Thebans, which, of course, was offensive to the Thebans. Demosthenes says this whole account of his being provoked to attack the Amphisceans is false, and that he was employed to do it by Philip, for the purpose of getting up an Amphictyonic war, which would give him an opportunity of introducing his army into Greece. See Dem. de Coron., §§ 140 – 150. —καὶ αὐτὸν οὕτω προηρημένον] “even myself having thus determined to do,” i. e. if he had not been excited, as he afterwards relates, and provoked to a direct attack upon the Amphisceans.

117. προθυμότερόν] “more zealously,” i. e. than was common.—μεθεστηκότων] “having taken sides with me.”—ἀρχὴν] “at the beginning.”

118. *κράβυλος*] A nickname of Hegesippus, which he received from wearing his hair in a *knot* or *roll* on the top of his head, called *κράβυλος*. He was on the same side, in politics, with Demosthenes. The alliance with the Phocians was generally unpopular in Greece, on account of their sacrilegious character. — *ἐπῆλθε . . . γνώμην*] “it occurred to me then in my thoughts,” = *venit mihi in mentem*. — *αὐτόθεν*] That is, “from their place of victory,” “on the spot.” — *έστηκὼς*] “having taken my stand,” i. e. “fearlessly.”

119. *τέλη πεπραχότας*] “having received revenues,” “having exacted toll.” The part. is from *πράττω*.

120. *διωριζόμην*] “I set forth,” “declared.” — *ἀφοσιῶ*] “ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποκαθαιρω, ἀφαγνίζω.” Harpocration. That is, “keep pure,” “clear.” — *Ἐνήρκται μὲν τὰ κανᾶ*] “the sacred rites have begun.” That is, suppose them to have commenced. The *κανᾶ* were *baskets* used for carrying the sacred barley-cakes (*οὐλαῖ*) in at the sacrifices.

121. *παρέντες*] “having passed by,” “left.” — *κατά τε . . . καὶ κατὰ*] As *τε* is an enclitic, it follows the preposition, while *καὶ* stands before its word. — *φησὶ*] Understand *ἡ ἀρά*. See § 111.

122. *μετέστην ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου*] “Videtur moris fuisse, ut qui fecerat ipse rogationem discederet, ut liberum esset reliquorum consilium.” Bremi. — *πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας οὔσης*] “the day being far spent.” — *ὅσοι ἐπὶ διετὲς ἥβωσι*] “as many as have been youths for two years.” That is, as many as were *eighteen* years old, having passed the two years of youth, and arrived at their majority. Athenian youths became men at eighteen, but were not liable to serve out of Attica till they were twenty. Herm., Polit. Antiq., 123. — *ἥτις δ' . . . ιεροῦ*] “and whatever city (i. e. of those belonging to the league) shall not be present, shall be excluded from the temples.” For the fut. mid. (*εἰρξεται*) in a pass. sense, see K. § 252, R. 1.

124. ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . θεῷ] That is, the private individuals from the different states embraced in the Amphictyonic League, who attended the session of the Council for the purpose of participating in the religious rites connected with it. See Dem. de Coron., § 154, note. — τῆς ἐπισύσης πυλαίας] As it was the spring session that was just closing, the next regular one was in the autumn; but they were to meet at a special session at an appointed time (*ρήτῳ χρόνῳ*).

125. ὑφ' ἡμῶν] “by us,” meaning himself and colleagues, as he is here speaking of their laying the decree before the Senate and people on their return. — μεσεγγυήματος] See § 114. — ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ] “in an open or direct way.” — μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἰδιώτας] “having sent out the private persons.” The Senate was often thronged by the common citizens. See Dem. de F. L., § 18. — προσλαβὼν] “having taken advantage of.”

126. διεπράξατο ἐπιψήφισθῆναι] “he caused to be confirmed by a vote.” — ἦδη ἐπαναστάσης, κ. τ. λ.] That is, just at the close of the session, and after most had gone out. — τοὺς ἀεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας] “those acting as deputies in each case.” The effect of this decree was, to prevent deputies being sent to the *special* session to be called.

127. μετέχειν] For the dat. and gen. after this verb, see K. §§ 273. 3, b, and 284. 3. 1. — Τὸ δὲ . . . ἔστι;] “But not to participate, what is it?” The question is answered, after the parenthesis, by Οὐκ ἔᾳ, κ. τ. λ. — οὐτωσὶ] “Hoc vocabulum sæpe ex contextu definitur imprimis in malam partem. Hic significat οὐτῷ κακῶς.” Bremi.

128. μᾶς πόλεως] That is, *Thebes*, which had since (B. C. 335) been destroyed by Alexander. — οὐτ' ἀν . . . μήθ'] Observe the change from *οὐτε* to *μήτε*, in passing from the expression of a simple negative to the expression of a negative wish (“I neither would . . . and would to God there may not be”). — Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρσάλιον] For

the probable reason of his being called an Arcadian in Dem. de Coron., § 155, see Appendix to that Oration, p. 247.—*μακρὰν*] Used as an adverb, 'but properly an adjective, referring originally to *όδον*, or some other feminine noun, understood.—*αὐτίκα μάλα*] *μάλα* is often found thus after *αὐτίκα*, (and sometimes before it,) in the sense of "very," to strengthen its meaning. See Dem. de F. L., §§ 39, 42.

129. *τῷ θεῷ καταθεῖναι*] "to pay to the god," i. e. to pay into the treasury of the temple of Apollo at Delphi.—*τοὺς δὲ . . . κατίγαγον*] "but those having fled for conscience' sake, they restored," i. e. those who were opposed to the sacrilegious proceedings referred to, and who had left the country to avoid participating in them. These they restored to their country, while they banished (*μετεστήσαντο*) the offenders.—*κατελθόντας*] "having returned," "having been restored."—*πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον*] "Oratio hyperbolica eo oratoris consilio nata, ut ne ipse videtur Philippum in Greciam vocare voluisse. Hinc rem ita exponit, quasi altera in Amphissenses expeditio longo tempore post primam, cui intersuit Æschines, locum habuerit. Sed utraque fere conjuncta censenda, aut una nonnisi, ut patet ex iis, quæ habet Weiske de Hyperb., P. III. p. 23." Bremi.

130. *μόνον γε οὐκ*] "only not indeed," = *almost*. — *μᾶλλον*] "rather," "more," i. e. than Athens on the occasion referred to.—*ἡ τῶν μυστῶν τελευτή*] "the death of the initiated." That is, as the Scholiast says, the devouring of some of the novitiates by a sea-monster, as they descended into the sea to perform the purificatory ablutions.—*φιλιππίζειν . . . φάσκων*] "saying that the Pythia Philippizes," i. e. was in the pay and under the influence of Philip, and hence, that they could not obtain an impartial response if they sent to consult the oracle.—*ἀπαίδευτος . . . ἐξουσίας*] "being rude (i. e. as it regards religious cultivation), and enjoying and being glutted with the power granted him by you." Even Æschines thus bears testimony to the great public influence of Demosthenes.

131. ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερήτων] “inauspicious and ill-omened.” The words are nearly synonymous, and used for oratorical effect. The reference is to the preliminary rites before the unfortunate battle of Chaeroneia, to which, he says, Demosthenes sent out the army against the omens derived from the sacrifices.—πρώην] “lately,” i. e. in some of their “sparring,” probably some time after the battle of Chaeroneia, and before this trial. Various reasons have been given for the course of Philip in not entering and ravaging Attica after the battle of Chaeroneia; but it was not, probably, dictated wholly by magnanimity. See Thirlwall, Chap. 46.—ἀλιτήριε] “guilty destroyer.” The *ἀλιτήριος* of a nation was a sort of Achan, who called down the divine vengeance by his wickedness and impiety. See how Demosthenes turns the charge upon Æschines, De Coron., § 159.

132. ἐφ' ἡμῶν] “in our age.” Literally, “upon us,” while we say “under one.”—ἀλλ' εφυμεν] “but we live for a marvel to those who shall come after us.” That is, on account of the strange things which had taken place in their day, through the bad management and evil genius of Demosthenes.—οἱ τὸν Ἀθων, κ. τ. λ.] Xerxes, in his invasion of Greece, is said to have made a bridge across the Hellespont, and to have cut a canal through Mount Athos. These feats are often referred to as marvels by Greek authors. (See Isoc. Panegyr., § 89.) A king once so mighty and so haughty, he goes on to say, had in their day (i. e. by Alexander, then on his Eastern expedition) been reduced to the utmost extremity.—τοὺς αὐτοὺς] That is, the Macedonians.

133. περὶ τῶν ὅλων οὐκ ὁρθῶς βουλευσάμενοι] “τὰ ὅλα Græcis sæpe sunt res summæ, gravissimæ, quæ spectant reipublicæ salutem et felicitatem. Sententia nostri loci est: quanquam parum Græciæ saluti consulerent. Post Leuctricam pugnam nimium sibi arrogarunt Thebani.”

Bremi. — ἀλλὰ] “yet.” Stands opposed to *εἰ καὶ* (“if also justly . . . yet at least receiving their judicial blindness and folly, not from men, but from the gods”). — προσαψάμενοι . . . κατάληψιν] “only meddling with these affairs at first in taking the temple.” The Lacedæmonians, having been fined by the Amphictyons for occupying the Cadmea of Thebes, had assisted the Phocians, at first, in seizing the temple, but had taken no active part in the war which ensued upon that event. — νῦν . . . ἀναπέμπεσθαι] “now about to become hostages, and give an example of the calamity, are on the point of being sent to (*ώς*) Alexander,” i. e. in consequence of having made an unsuccessful attempt to resist the Macedonian power during the absence of Alexander in the East (B. C. 331). This allusion proves that the time of the delivery of this oration must have been as late as the time usually assigned to it (B. C. 330).

135. ἀπηύρα] “suffered from.” Strictly, “to receive,” whether good or ill. The imperf. has the aorist meaning. — ἀτάσθαλα μητιάσται] “devises arrogant things.” See the same passage referred to by Æschines, F. L., p. 49, where *μεχανάσται* is used in the place of *μητιάσται*. The calamities sent upon a people cursed with such a man are described in the lines that follow, which, he says, laying aside the metre, are an accurate description of what had happened under the conduct of Demosthenes. Thus ends this long story (see Dem. de Coron., § 140) about the Amphisseans.

137. Φρυνώδας οὗτε Εὐρύβατος] These were shameless traitors and deceivers, such as magicians and jugglers (*μάγος καὶ γόνης*) usually are. For Eurybates, or, as some would have it, Eurybates, see Dem. de Coron., § 24. — ως ἄρα] “that forsooth.” Observe the disbelief and contempt implied in these words, and see § 54. He here enters upon an examination of the character of the alliance which Demosthenes formed with Thebes, and on which he

prided himself so much, and which, therefore, might be considered as a redeeming feature in his public career. But even here he allows him no merit. He referred to this alliance, as a point to be examined in connection with that formed with the Eubœans (§ 84), but, to preserve chronological order, examined that first, and now, having brought down the history of affairs to the time the alliance with Thebes was formed, i. e. till just before the battle of Chæroneia, when Philip had already taken Elateia, proceeds to examine this. Demosthenes replies to what is said on this point, *De Coron.*, § 238, seq.

139. *Tò δ' αἴτιον οἶδα μέν*] The cause consisted partly in the rivalry of the neighbouring states, and partly in the unpatriotic course of the Thebans in joining the Persians in the first Persian war. As Thebes had been overthrown by Alexander, he says he will not rake up these grounds of their differences,—*nil de mortuis nisi bonum*.

140. *Níκαταν*] “Hanc urbem in bello Phocensi Thessalii a Phocensibus eruptam Philippus illis restituit, ut eos sibi devinciret. Cf. Demosthenis *Philip.* II., p. 71.” Bremi. But Æschines here says he took it from the Thebans, i. e. they had confidently expected to receive it.—*τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον*] That is, the Phocian war, I suppose, referring, perhaps, to his having first carried it on in Thessaly, and afterwards in Phocis.—*Ἐλάτειαν*] This was the principal city of Phocis, on the borders of Bœotia, and commanding the defiles which led to Bœotia and Attica.—*πρὶν . . . Δημοσθένην*] This, if taken literally, is a downright falsehood. But it would seem from what follows, that it should be taken in a limited sense, as expressing what *virtually happened*, though not *actually*. He says the necessity of the case virtually brought the two cities together, and not the negotiations of Demosthenes, though he, by the form and direction which he gave to the alliance, did infinite mischief. See a full account of the negotiations of De-

mosthenes for bringing about the alliance, in his reply, §§ 179 – 187, 211 – 214.

141. *ώς αὐτὰ . . . δεδήλωκε*] Referring to the severity with which Philip treated Thebes after the battle of Chæroneia, and the lenity with which he treated Athens. This, he says, proves that he was more hostile to Thebes than Athens. Possibly so, but see § 131, note.—*ταῦτα*] That is, the true feelings of Philip towards Athens and Thebes respectively.

142. *πρῶτον μὲν*] As the first objection which he makes to the alliance resolves itself into two parts, after having stated the general character of the objection, he here commences to state more particularly the first point, and at *δεύτερον δὲ* (§ 143) introduces the second point. For a similar use of *πρῶτον* and *δεύτερον*, in expressing the subdivisions under the first general division of a subject, see Dem. de Cherson., §§ 39 – 43.—*ἐπὶ τίσι*] “upon what *conditions*.”—*ἀγαπᾶν*] “to be satisfied.”—*τοῦτο δὲ προλαβὼν*] “but having secured this point,” i. e. that no special conditions should be insisted upon.—*Βοιωτίαν ἄπασαν*] Thebes was but the capital of Bœotia, to which the other cities and towns owed a sort of allegiance, but otherwise were independent. It was a fundamental principle in the Athenian policy to keep these towns independent of Thebes; but by the arrangement entered into with Thebes on the present occasion, Demosthenes, in the view of Æschines, so far departed from that policy, as to put them in the power of Thebes.—*τοῖς ὀνόμασι . . . πράγματα*] Referring to his denominating the Thebans by the general name of *Bœotians*. But this was not a mere trick on the part of Demosthenes; his object was to form an alliance with the Bœotians as a nation, and not simply with Thebes.—*ώς τὸν Βοιωτὸν, κ. τ. λ.*] This gives the supposed reason why Demosthenes employed such terms in speaking of the Thebans, namely, “that the Bœotians would be pleased by such a combina-

tion of terms in designating the Thebans, as excluded any express naming of their hated oppressors.” For ὡς with the acc. absolute of participles, see K. § 312. 6, c.

143. *οἱ . . . κίνδυνοι*] As Philip was at Elateia, the Athenians, of course, were farther from danger than the Thebans. — *ἡγεμονίαν*] See § 58, note. — *ἀρδην φέρων*] “wholly bearing,” = “at one sweep.” — *Στρατοκλέα*] No Athenian general of this name is mentioned as acting in this war. The leaders were Chares and Lysicles.

144. *ἔτεροι δὲ παραλείπουσιν*] “while ($\delta\epsilon$) others pass them by.” These were common charges against Demosthenes, he says, but they had become so accustomed to hear charges against him, that they had no effect upon them. They were not then, most probably, convinced of their truth.

145. *ἀρδην . . . οὐφελόμενος*] “wholly unconsciously removed.” As Thebes was nearer the seat of war, it must have been more convenient to conduct the military counsels there than at Athens. Besides, there was a shrewd policy, as Demosthenes remarks (De Coron., § 195), in keeping the whole war out of Attica by a union with Thebes.

146. *διαδικασίαν . . . στρατηγεῖον*] “he said that he would institute a trial of merit for the rostrum against the praetorium.” The *διαδικασία* was a suit to decide the superiority of claim to certain property or rights between two or more litigants, as in the case of heirs, etc. — *Μισθυφορῶν . . . χώραις*] “but drawing the pay for blank places in the mercenary force,” i. e. the force sent out to Amphissa to oppose Philip, just before the battle of Chæroneia. The charge is, that he, having got the complete control of this affair, drew for the pay for a certain number of soldiers, and as the ranks were not all full, took that himself which was intended for the absentees, just as the more rapacious military leaders were wont to do. — *προσέμιξε . . . πόλει*] “the mercenary troops having been taken (i. e. in Amphissa), he hurried on the danger to the city.” For this use of *φέρων*, see § 82.

147. *ἀν]* Belongs to *εὐξασθαι*, but is placed after *γὰρ* as the word which turns the sense of the sentence. K. § 261. 2. — *χωρὶς]* “separately.” — *εἰ μὴ δίκην δέδωκεν]* That is, he is not satisfied with merely escaping punishment. — *οὐδὲ ἰκανόν,* κ. τ. λ.] Referring to the proposition to proclaim his crown, not in the Assembly, but in the theatre, at the great Dionysiac festival. See § 33, note.

148. *ὅτι . . . διαγωνιεῖται]* “that he should stake all the advantages he has acquired (*τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν*) in a small part of a day,” i. e. in the battle which must be fought with the Athenians and Thebans.

149. *τοῦτο κήρυγμά τι]* “this, as it were a command.” *κήρυγμά τι* belong to the predicate.

150. *Φειδίας . . . Δημοσθένει]* “Phidias made for Demosthenes to make gain and swear by.” If Demosthenes conducted as here described, he was more of a fool than a knave. The evident exaggeration of many parts of the oration injures its effect very much. — *Κλεοφῶντος]* “Turbulentus erat demagogus et similis Hyperbolo et Cleoni, quibuscum sœpe jungitur.” Bremi. — *ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . εἰρήνης]* “but even turned back again (i. e. towards home) your soldiers who had come out, in order that you may consult concerning the peace.” The subj. after *ἴva* is used instead of the opt., on account of the vividness of the conception of the speaker. K. § 330, R. 1.

151. *καὶ γράψειν . . . Φιλιππον]* “and said that he would propose (i. e. if he should be compelled to return to Athens to deliberate upon these matters) a decree (the man who never looked the enemy in the face) for you to send ambassadors to Thebes to demand of the Thebans a passage through their country against Philip.” — *ὡς ἀληθῶς]* “in very deed.” *ὡς* qualifies the adverb, as it often does the superlative. K. § 343, R. 2.

152. *ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν]* That is, those who fell at Chæroneia, and upon whom Demosthenes was employed to pro-

nounce a funeral oration. Demosthenes (De Coron., § 285) justly prides himself upon this appointment, as showing the confidence of the people in him. — *τοῖς δραπέταις . . . τάξιν*] Referring to his deserting his post in the battle. See § 159, note. — *σπουδᾶια*] “serious duties.” — *ἐπιχειρήσειν ἐθελήσεις*] The idea of futurity is made more prominent by the use of the fut. infin. instead of the pres. or aor. K. § 257, R. 2.

153. *τὴν διάνοιαν*] “in thought,” “imagination.” Acc. of nearer definition. K. § 279. 7. — *νομίσαθ’ ὄραν*] “imagine that you see.” He here gives, with his peculiar coloring, the scene which would be presented at the crowning of Demosthenes, should they sustain the proposition of Ctesiphon. — *τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀγνωμοσύνῃ*] “the perverse folly of the city,” i. e. in honoring the man who had been the cause of the death of their friends.

154. *τοὺς ὄρφανοὺς*] By a law of Solon, the sons of those who had fallen in war were brought up at the public expense. — *προεδρίαν*] That is, the seat of honor in the theatre.

155. *παραστησάμενος*] “having placed before you.” Agrees with *κήρυξ*, understood. — *ἀλλ’ οὐ*] “yet not.” For *ἀλλά* in this sense, see § 133. — *ἀλλὰ τάνατίᾳ . . . φθέγγεσθαι*] “but the opposite of the words of the crier will seem to be spoken,” i. e. as is described in what follows.

156. *μὴ . . . αὐτῶν*] “do not triumph over yourselves,” “do not proclaim your own shame.” — *παρανοίας*] “of madness,” “folly.” This, together with *τὸν δῆμον*, is governed by *αἴρειν*, in the sense “to convict.” K. § 274. 2.

157. *ταῖς γε διανοίαις*] “in imagination.” This description of the fate of Thebes has been much admired. Demosthenes (De Coron., § 41) derides his pathos, as being feigned, since he profited by their fall.

158. *αὐτοσχεδιάζῃ*] “may practise upon,” “make experiments upon,” “endanger.” See the reply of Demosthenes

to the foregoing remarks of his adversary, and others of the same kind, as to his evil fortune, De Coron., § 252, seq.

159. *τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως*] “his post in the city.” Literally, “*from* the city.” But this is by attraction through the influence of *ἔλιπεν*, just as in the previous sentence; or perhaps *ἔλιπεν* should be taken in a pregnant sense (“*he left his post by going from the city*”). The manner in which, and the purpose for which, he left the city, are named in what follows, i. e. he left in a vessel to collect the taxes from the tributaries of Athens. It does not appear that Demosthenes deserted his place in the battle in any other sense than all that survived did. “He was certainly reproached with cowardice, because he escaped in the general flight, only by those who wished that he had been left on the field.” Thirlwall, Chap. 46. — *τῆς ἀπροσδοκήτου σωτηρίας*] Referring to the leniency of Philip towards the city. See § 31, note. — *ἐπιγράφειν*] Plutarch relates, that, distrusting his fortune, he for some time presented his decrees in the name of his friends, of whom Nausicles was one.

160. *Ἐπειδὴ . . . Φιλιππος*] That is, B. C. 336. — *τερατενόμενος*] “dealing in the marvellous.” This is intended to describe a prominent trait in the character of Demosthenes, often alluded to by Æschines (§§ 77, 99, 142), and which he represents as a species of *solemn imposture*, but which should be regarded as the result of a strong religious, combined with a strong patriotic tendency. Demosthenes evidently possessed something of those austere, and often mysterious views, which sometimes laid him open to the charge of humbuggery. When the good of his country seemed to be at stake, the end, undoubtedly, often seemed to him to sanctify the means. In this way we may account for his pretending to have been informed by a vision of the death of Philip (§ 77), as well as the act here ascribed to him, and many others calculated to awaken the patriotism of his countrymen. Witness, too,

the frequent invocation of the gods in his orations, his solemn array of the ancient heroes, and the patriotic raptures in which he often indulges. — *ιερὰ . . . Παυσανίου*] “he caused to be erected sacred symbols (a statue) of Pausanias.” That is, of the murderer of Philip. — *εἰς αἴτιαν . . . κατέστησεν*] “while he involved the Senate in a charge of sacrificing thank-offerings for the good news,” i. e. of the death of Philip. — *Μαργύτην*] That is, *a mock hero*, who figures in a pseudo-Homeric fragment. Alexander, too, it should be recollectcd, was a great admirer of the Homeric heroes, and especially of Achilles, upon whose character he modelled himself. There may be some allusion to this fact in the appellation under consideration. — *τὰ σπλάγχνα φυλάττοντα*] “inspecting the entrails of victims,” i. e. in order to see if it would be safe to move from home, like a timid and superstitious person. — *οὐκ εἰκάζων*] “not conjecturing.” — *ὅτι . . . ὁνία*] “that valor is purchasable by blood,” i. e. by incurring danger fearlessly. *αιματος* is gen. of price. In the next clause, which refers to Demosthenes, Bremi takes *αιμα* in the sense of *robur*, “vigor,” “manliness.”

161. *τοῦ νεανίσκου*] Alexander, who at this time was twenty-one years of age. — *πρεσβευτὴς . . . ἵποστρέψας*] Plutarch alludes to this embassy to Alexander after the destruction of Thebes, and to the circumstance of Demosthenes returning from dread of the anger of the king, after he had proceeded as far as Mount Cithæron. And it would have been utter presumption for him to have thus placed himself in his power. — *οὗτ' ἐν . . . παρέχων*] See how Demosthenes turns this charge upon Æschines, De Coron., §§ 180, 196–198. — *δεινότατον*] That is, “*to name* what is most shocking.” A preparatory acc. in apposition with what follows. Jelf’s K. § 580, R. 2; also Dem. Pop. Orat., II. § 1. — *οὐ προῦδοτε*] “you did not give him up,” i. e. to his enemies. Referring, perhaps, to the demand which Alexander made for him and other Attic orators to be given

up to him. — *ἐν τῷ . . . συνεδρίῳ*] That is, the Amphictyonic Council, undoubtedly. See Dem. de Coron., § 322.

162. *πάραλοι*] That is, “ambassadors conveyed in a *πάραλος*, or sacred galley.” — *εἴ τις ἄρα*] “if perchance,” — *si quis forte.* — *έτέρων . . . γενόμενος*] “being distinguished above others in his appearance.” For the combination *διαφέρων γενόμενος*, see § 10. — *τὸν Αλέξανδρον ὑποτρέχει*] “insinuates himself with Alexander.” And thus, as Æschines would have us believe, served as a go-between from Demosthenes to Alexander, by whom they carried on a secret correspondence and came to a secret understanding. But such hearsay is unworthy to be produced before a court in a serious cause.

163. *καιροὶ κάλλιστοι*] That is, of showing his hostility to Alexander. — *καθεστηκὼς*] “having been established,” i. e. on his throne. — *έαυτῷ*] Referring to the king of Persia. — *τῷ σαυτοῦ τρόπῳ*] “your own habit,” i. e. of cowardice. — *ρητορικὴν δειλίαν*] “rhetorical cowardice,” i. e. real cowardice rising into indignation in the flow of rhetoric.

164. *ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος, κ. τ. λ.*] Referring to the battle of Issus. — *συμπατηθήσεσθαι . . . ἵππου*] “to be trampled under foot by the Persian mare.” The infin. depends upon *ἵμελλεν*. — *οὐκ ἔχώρει*] “could not away with.” — *ἄς . . . περιήεις*] “which having suspended from your fingers, you went around with,” i. e. holding them in an ostentatious way in his hand. The letters were represented as being from persons near Alexander, and who were acquainted with the facts in the case. — *καὶ χρυσόκερων . . . φάσκων*] “stigmatizing me as a golden-horned victim, and saying that I have been crowned for the sacrifice.” Referring to the ambiguous oracle which the Pythia gave out to Alexander before he set out on his expedition to the East : *Ἐστεπται μὲν ὁ ταῦρος, ἔχει τέλος, ἔστιν δὲ θύσων*. As Æschines was the active leader of the Macedonian party at Athens, Demosthenes very naturally expressed his exultation over him, in

the present critical state of the affairs of Alexander. — *εἰς τίνα καιρὸν ἀνεβάλλον καλλίω*] “Oratores Attici medium ἀναβάλλεσθαι usurpant ad indicandam cunctationem ac procrastinationem rerum eam, quæ fit desidia et languore, activum autem ἀναβάλλειν ratione hominum, quos de industria retinemus, aut vero malitiose retardamus, dein etiam ratione rerum, quarum eventum consilio malo reprimimus. Nostro loco est ex ignavia rem rejicere.” Bremi.

165. *Δακεδαιμόνιοι . . . μάχη*] “the Lacedæmonians and the mercenary force fought a successful battle.” This seems to have been at the commencement of their revolt against the Macedonians, which ended in their defeat, the year previous to the delivery of this oration. See § 133. The mercenary force spoken of was, most probably, a force sent into the Peloponnesus by Darius, to act in conjunction with the Lacedæmonians in overturning the Macedonian power there. — *ὅλίγους δεῖν*] “almost.” Literally, “so as to want little.” K. § 341, R. 3.

166. *τὰ νεῦρα*] “*τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων* sunt χρήματα καὶ σύμμαχοι.” Bremi. — *φορμορράφούμεθα . . . διείρονσι*] “we are sewed (or, perhaps, squeezed) up into the straits, some first thread us as needles.” The figures seem to refer to the manner in which they were pressed and vexed on all sides by domestic enemies. Demosthenes unquestionably used very strong language on some occasions, but it is hardly supposable that he often made use of so harsh and incongruous figures as are here ascribed to him. It is no wonder that Æschines complains of the insufferable harshness of such language. See the retort of Demosthenes to these and the like strictures upon his language, § 127.

167. *κίναδος*] “monster.” — *δμολογῶ . . . ἀφιστάναι*] “I acknowledge that I united the Lacedæmonian powers, I acknowledge that I instigated the Thessalians and Perrhaebans to revolt,” i. e. from Macedonia. — *μὴ*] Understand *εἴπω* with this (“Let me not say to a city, but even”).

K. § 321. 3, a. — *σαντὸν . . . ἐπιγράψεις*] “will inscribe yourself upon that which has taken place,” i. e. claim the honor of it.

168. *δημοτικός ἐστιν*] “he is a man of democratic character and principles.” — *εὐφημίαν*] “plausibleness.” — *ποιόν τινα*] “of what distinctive character.” For this meaning of *τινα*, see K. § 303. 4. — *φαῦλον*] Opposed to *σώφρον* (“virtuous,” “temperate,” “good”) in the description of *δημοτικός*.

169. *ἐλεύθερον*] “free-born.” — *εὐεργεσίαν*] “good-will.” — *βοηθῶν . . . ἀτυχήμασι*] “avenging (lit., coming to the aid of) the injuries of their ancestors.”

170. *δίαιταν*] “mode of life,” “style of living.” — *ἀσέλγειαν*] “wanton excess,” “profusion.” — *εὐγνώμονα*] “fair-minded,” “sound-minded.” Referring to that freedom from prejudice and general soundness of views which are essential to success as a statesman. — *διάνοιαν*] “thought,” “mind.” — *παρὰ*] “during,” “in the midst of.” See Dem. Pop. Orat., II. § 22. — *ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις*] “upon condition of entire justice.” See the same phrase, Dem. Pop. Orat., VIII. § 10. The above characteristics of a *δημοτικός* are evidently drawn to meet the case of Demosthenes, and hence are arbitrary. It is in this light that Demosthenes treats them in his reply (§ 122), setting them aside by a single pertinent illustration.

171. *Γύλων ἦν ἐκ Κεραμέων*] “Gylon (i. e. the maternal grandfather of Demosthenes) was of Kerameis,” an Attic *deme* of that name. — *τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο*] That is, *the Tauric Cherronesus*, where Nymphaeum was situated. — *τὴν κρίσιν οὐχ ὑπομείνας*] And hence he could never return to his country. — *τοὺς ὠνομασμένους Κήπους*] “Urbs erat haud exigua, ab hortis amoenis appellata, Milesiorum colonia.” Bremi.

172. *ἐπιφέρομένην*] “’Επιφέρεσθαι de uxore dotem ferente habuimus in Lysiæ pro bonis Aristophan., § 14.” Bremi. — *συνφύκισε*] “married.” — *διτῷδῆποτε*] “to whomso-

ever he may be." He did not wish to name him, lest he should give offence to him also in what he was about to say of Demosthenes. His name was Demochares. See Dem. adv. Aphob., p. 818. — *παριδὼν τὸν τῆς πολεως νόμους*] That is, by marrying a woman who was not a native-born Athenian. — *προγόνων*] "Pluralis positus est ratione sententiae. Proprie unus respicitur avus Gylon." Bremi. — *τὴν πονηρίαν*] "in his vicious pronunciation."

173. 'Εκ τριηράρχου . . . ἀνεφάνη] "from a trierarch he became a pleader of causes before the courts," i. e. although a rich man (as all trierarchs were), he took up the profession of a writer of pleas for pay. — *τὸν λόγους . . . ἀντιδίκους*] "producing the speeches for the opposing parties," i. e. for both the parties in a suit, as in the case of Phormio and Apollodorus. See Plutarch's Life of Demosthenes. — *τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσῖον*] It is admitted that Demosthenes received money from the king of Persia, to be used in stirring up opposition throughout Greece against the Macedonian power, which was then extending its ravages through the Persian empire; but there is no proof that he appropriated it to his personal benefit.

174. *Δεινῶς λέγειν, κακῶς βιώναι*] "So as to speak vehemently, to live shamefully." — *παιδοποιίᾳ*] "power of procreation." These disgusting personalities, as well as those in the reply of Demosthenes (§ 129, seq.), are unworthy of orators of so great renown, but were according to the fashion of the times, and are attributable in the present case to the intense personal animosity of the antagonists, which had been accumulating for years.

176. *ἔξω τῶν περιβράντηρίων*] That is, as a person in disgrace. "Sunt cancelli, intra quos nemini ἀτίμῳ intrare licebat." Bremi. — *σὺ*] That is, Ctesiphon. — *τοῖς τραγῳδοῖς*] "at the tragedies," "at the exhibition of the tragedies." It expresses time. Thus often. See Dem. de Coron., § 54.

177. *οὐ μή . . . ποιήσετε*] “do not suppose that you will ever make better.” *οὐ* belongs to some verb of *fear* or *anxiety*, understood. K. § 318. 7.

178. *ἀμείνους*] “braver.” So more commonly. See Dem. de Coron., § 219. — *καταπέλνυται*] “has been washed out,” “has been forgotten.”

179. *ἄτοπον*] “strange,” “inexplicable.” — *Οἴεσθ’ ἀντὸν* *ἄντ* belongs to *ἔθελῆσαι* (“do you think that any one would be willing ”).

180. *Νῦν δ’*] That is, according to the existing arrangement for bestowing rewards at the games. — *ἐπιεικεῖς φύσεις*] “gentle natures,” i. e. modest but deserving men.

181. *Ἐτι δ’ οἱ . . . καταγαγόντες*] The reference is to Thrasybulus and his associates, who rallied the citizens that had fled from Athens during the reign of the Thirty, at the fortress of Phyle, on the borders of Boeotia, whence he carried on his operations for the overthrow of this hateful oligarchy. See § 187, fin. Of course, the comparison expressed in the previous sentences between other ancient worthies and Demosthenes, is implied here between these and him. It is worth observing, too, that each case for comparison is introduced by *δέ*. Upon this Bremi remarks: “Singula exempla in progressu enumerantur per particulam δέ, nonnunquam cum indignatione.”

182. *ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις*] “in the same days.” Just as we say, “to name in the same day.”

183. *ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι*] “Intelligitur Cimonis expeditio in Thracia cuius regionis flumen erat Strymon, quod cum valido exercitu eum trajicere jubebant Athenienses, ut sociis urbibus auxilium ferret et quæ Persarum adhuc praesidiis tenebantur, in libertatem vindicaret. Primum enim Eionem Persarum jugo adhuc pressam dolo cepit, et terra marique pari fortuna usus est. Qui labores erant Atheniensibus tolerandi, perspicitur ex Herod., VII. 107.” Bremi. This occurred B. C. 476 (Ol. 76. 1), and not, as Bremi has it, Ol.

77. 3, 4. See Clinton and Thirlwall. — *τρεῖς λιθίνους Ἐρμᾶς*] Hermæ were square pillars of stone, ending in a head or bust. There seems to have been a street or colonnade lined with them at Athens, called *the Stoa of the Hermæ*, which led from the Pœcile to the Stoa Basileios. See Cramer's Ancient Greece, Vol. II. p. 320. — *ἴνα μὴ*] Understand *δοκῇ εἶναι ἐπίγραμμα*, found in the following clause. These inscriptions were to be made upon the Hermæ, but not to contain the name of the persons honored by them.

184. **Ην ἄρα*] “**Ην pro ἡσαν*. Uberius de hac forma exponit Choroboscus Anecdd. Becker, p. 1293.” Bremi. — *αἴθωνα*] “raging,” “consuming.” As we say, “consuming hunger.” — *Πρῶτοι . . . ἀμηχανίην*] “Primi omnium viam et rationem invenerunt, qua hostes in consilii inopiam conjicerent.” Jacobs.

186. *τὴν στοὰν τὴν ποικίλην*] “the picture Stoa.” A large hall in the agora at Athens, adorned with fresco paintings of great national events, especially of the battle of Marathon. See Cramer's Ancient Greece, Vol. II. p. 318.

187. *Μητρώῳ*] See § 75, note. — *Κοῖλης*] An Attic *deme*, belonging to the tribe Hippothontis. — *ἀναγνώσεται*] Understand *γραμματεύς*, as often. See § 190, where it is expressed.

189. *Καίτοι πυνθάνομαι γ', κ. τ. λ.*] Demosthenes, in his reply (§ 209), briefly alludes to the unfair use made by Æschines of these ancient deeds of renown in their early history, but replies more fully to the comparison made between him and the ancient worthies near the close of his speech (§§ 314–320), where, it is to be observed, he employs the same illustration of the two celebrated gymnastic wrestlers as is here employed by Æschines. The coincidence is so striking, as not only to create a suspicion, but to render it almost certain, that Æschines added this passage after the reply of Demosthenes, when he published

the oration. — ἐφικόμενος τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας] “having attained to their manly virtue.”

191. **Εναυλον]* “Vocabulum subtiliter adhibetur tum de sermone, quo tanquam tibiæ sono aures personant, tum de re qualibet, cujus adhuc recens est memoria. Accurate exposuit de vocabulo Rhunk. ad Tim. Lex., p. 100.” Bremi. — *ὅτι τηνικαῦτα, κ. τ. λ.]* The γραφὴ παρανόμων was regarded as the great safeguard of the democracy, since it was designed to prevent all encroachment upon the constitution of Solon. See §§ 5, 6. Hence it is that Æschines fixes upon this as the characteristic feature of the unjust reign of the Thirty. — *βιοὺς]* “having lived.” Demosthenes (De Coron., § 130) gives a very different account of the father of Æschines from that here given. — *διεξήει]* Supply the object from the context (“gave me an account of *these things*”). — *εἴναι ὅμοιον τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον]* “pari culpa eos habitos fuisse, qui contra leges locuti sint et egerint.” Bremi.

192. *τὴν ἀκρόασιν]* “the hearing of the cause.” — *ἀνεπόδιζον τὸν γραμματέα]* “called back the clerk,” “stopped the clerk.”

193. **Ηδη]* “at length,” “finally.” The appropriate meaning of *ἡδη*. See § 24, note.

194. **Ἐφ' ὁ, κ. τ. λ.]* The speech of Ctesiphon has not been preserved, but Demosthenes makes use of this argument (§§ 223–225). What is here said, I think, implies, as already remarked in another case (§ 35, note), that usage was against law on this point. — *Κέφαλος]* A renowned Athenian orator, who flourished during the Peloponnesian war. See the reply of Demosthenes to this case of Cephalus, § 251. — *οἱ διαπολιτευόμενοι]* “those belonging to opposite parties in politics.” The γραφὴ παρανόμων was often abused, undoubtedly, by being employed as an instrument for silencing a troublesome opponent. See Herm. Polit. Antiq., § 132.

195. *καὶ εἰλε . . . εὐεργεσιῶν]* “and convicted him, these good deeds having been recently performed by him.” — *μένοντας*] That is, in the city. Opposed to *φεύγοντας*, above.

196. *καὶ τῶν . . . πρυτανείω]* That is, “those citizens who, either from personal or ancestral services to the state, were honored with the privilege of taking their meals at the Prytaneum at the public expense.” Some of these, he says, and their honored generals, were in the habit of begging off from (*ἐξαιτοῦνται*) trials for illegal measures. — *ἅντιολαμβάνοιτε]* “you should.” A mild expression of a command. K. § 260. 2, (4), b.

197. *Tis οὖν . . . σώφρονι;*] “quænam oratio convenit homini justo et sobrio, qui patroni partes suscipit?” Brexi. — *εἰσίη . . . δικαστήριον]* Here *γραφὴ* is nom. to the verb; but in § 191 the person is expressed, and is put in the nom. — *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὕδωρ]* “the first measure of water.” Referring to their method of measuring time by the clepsydra or water-clock. In most causes, a certain time was allotted to the speakers on each side, and a certain time for fixing the penalty. — *τῇ πρώτῃ ψῆφῳ]* “at the first vote,” i. e. the vote as to his guilt or innocence. After one was convicted, the question of the penalty still remained to be discussed and determined upon. The *γραφὴ παρανόμων* belonged to the *ἀγῶνες τιμητοί*, or causes without a specific penalty affixed. The accuser fixed the fine at a certain sum (see the *γραφὴ* of Æschines, Dem. de Coron., § 55), but the defendant, if convicted, had the right of naming a counter penalty (*ἀντιτιμᾶν, ἀντιτίμησις*), and of discussing the question before the court. Herm. Polit. Antiq., § 143. 10. — *τῷ μεγέθει . . . ὑμετέρας]* “the measure of your indignation,” i. e. at the crime, which would be expressed by the penalty they affixed to it.

198. *τὴν ψῆφον αἰτεῖ]* “demands the vote,” i. e. in his favor. — *παραιτεῖται]* See *ἐξαιτοῦνται*, § 196. — *τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ]* That is, on the question of his guilt or innocence. —

ὅρκον αἰτεῖ] “Flagitat, ut sua causa perjuriam admittatis; νόμον αἰτεῖ, flagitat, ut negligatis legem; δημοκρατίαν αἰτεῖ, flagitat, ut a rationibus democratiæ deficiatis.” Bremi. — *ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὴν τίμησιν*] “to come to the question of fixing the penalty.”

199. *μὴ ἔξειναι . . . φεύγοντι*] This he says, as will be seen from what follows, to suggest to the judges the propriety of refusing Demosthenes the opportunity of replying to him as the *συνήγορος* of Ctesiphon. It is to this attempt to prevent his speaking in self-defence that Demosthenes refers in his reply, § 13.

200. *τὸ σανίδιον*] “this little tablet.” Containing (see § 201) the decree of Ctesiphon (*ψήφισμα*) and the laws violated by it written opposite (*οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι*), just as the conflicting laws to be revised by the Nomothetæ were to be inscribed upon *σανίδες* (of which *σανίδιον* is the diminutive), and exposed before the statues of the Eponymi (see § 39). The tablet itself is specially mentioned, and then its contents, because he is speaking of a *rule* of judgment, which he had illustrated by the rule of the mechanic. Singularly enough, we have no account of *σανίδιον*, nor of *σανίδες* (except in the sense of *doors*), in Smith’s Dict. Antiq. Nor have I been able to find a good account of them in any of the common books which treat of such matters. — *ὑπερπηδήσας*] “*Ὑπερπηδᾶν, levi pede aliquid præterire et migrare quasi rem parvi momenti.*” Bremi. — *κακοῦργον ἀνθρωπον*] That is, Demosthenes.

201. *Tίς . . . λόγων;*] “What now is the preventive of such speeches?” i. e. such as he had said Ctesiphon would make, i. e. a mere sham speech, neglecting the whole merits of the case, and then calling on Demosthenes. We see how much Aeschines feared the reply of Demosthenes. — *παραναγώναι*] “to read in connection, or in comparison with.” In order that he might be brought back to consider the true merits of the case, namely, how these could be shown to be consistent. — *μὴ προσποῆται*] The negative is

with the principal verb (as it often is in Greek, especially with *φάναι* and other words which imply *speaking* or *thinking*), instead of being with the infin. K. § 318, R. 4.

202. *μάλιστα μὲν*] “especially,” “above all things,” “if possible.” It is responded to by *Αν δ'*, below.—*ἐπανερομένου*] “inquiring,” i. e. of the court.—*κάλει, κάλει*] “Perspicitur hinc, quantum fuerit populi Atheniensis studium Demosthenis audiendi, quum, simul ac quis ejus mentionem fecerat, solerent alta voce clamare, ut vocetur et progrediatur orator.” Bremi.

203. *ἀπορώτατος*] “inertissimus, stolidissimus. *Ἀπότος* interdum is dicitur, qui propter ingenii tarditatem nil expedire queat.” Bremi.

205. *Οὗτω δὴ, κ. τ. λ.*] Demosthenes, in his reply, follows the order of the charges in the indictment, in which, by an oversight, Aeschines had placed the denial of his merits as a public man first, which was just the topic Demosthenes wished to treat first, and refer all the others to. See Dem. de Coron., §§ 56–60.—*ἐτέρων . . . πραγμάτων*] “by an introduction of other things.” It cannot be denied that this is the general character of the reply of Demosthenes. The written laws were certainly against him, and hence on the law points he could only plead a certain extenuating usage. See § 35.

206. *περὶ τῆς στάσεως*] “about their relative position,” i. e. for instance, which should have his face turned towards the sun and which from it, or which towards the wind and which from it, &c. So, he goes on to say, they should insist upon a certain arrangement (*τάξεως*) in the reply of Demosthenes.—*ὑπὲρ . . . περὶ*] A fine illustration of the difference between these prepositions. See § 9, note.—*περιίστασθαι*] “to go around,” “turn aside.”—*ἐγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες*] “His verbis indicatur diligentissime ipsis a dolis et callidis fallaciis hominis fraudulentem cavendum esse.” Bremi. Compare Pop. Orat., II. § 18.

207. Ἐπεισάξει . . . πολιτείαν] “Well, then, he (i. e. Ctesiphon) will introduce this juggler cutpurse and sunderer of the constitution.” These terms are not used in their literal sense, but with reference to his wizard-like power as a speaker. See Dem. de Coron., § 276, seq. γὰρ is explicative, as often. K. § 324. 2, b. — μεταβαλλόμενος] “changing,” i. e. from tears and protestations to reproaches and maledictions. — ὑπ’ αὐτῆς . . . διηριθμημένος] “distinguished by the truth,” i. e. by the true distinction, “taken in the most comprehensive sense.”

208. ἐκ παιδείας] “from their liberal culture,” “from their generous nature.” — ἐπίορκος ὅν] “being a perjured man.” — πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς] “before the same persons.” The principle here stated, about the effect of frequent oaths or protestations upon one’s credibility, is a sound one.

209. Περιγράψατέ . . . πολιτείας] “exclude me from civil privileges.” Bremi remarks upon this: “Æschines affectare videtur orationem flebilis hominis et timidi, qui ipse perspicit civibus non solum jus esse, sed officium eum puniendi, sed ita eos flagitat hoc jure uti, ut deminuto honore ipse tamen salvus evadat.” — προβαλλόμενος] “throwing before it,” “in the way of protection.” These interrogatories are designed as a taunt upon Demosthenes in failing to protect the city against Philip. — Ἐκλιπὼν μὲν . . . πόλεως] “Sensus est: urbe relicta non in Piræo domicilium, ut videtur, constituisti, sed opportunum locum elegisti, unde, quando tibi placet, peregre abeas.” Bremi.

210. οὐκ ἀρίμητος] The influence of οὐχ in the previous clause extends to this as well as the following (“is not the action *not* one with a definite penalty affixed?”). See § 197, note.

211. μανεῖς] “having become mad,” i. e. having lost all sense of propriety. — ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἀκαρίας] “so unreasonably,” “on so unfitting an occasion.” The preposition

with its case has the force of an adverb, as often. — *καιρὸν*] Referring to the unhappy condition of the country brought about by his policy. — *ἐκείρατο*] Lit., “cut off the hair,” and hence, as cutting off the hair was a sign of grief, “grieved,” “mourned.” — *κάθαρμα ζηλοτυποῦν ἀρετήν*] “wretch hating virtue.” See the same epithet applied to Æschines by Demosthenes, De Coron., § 128.

212. *ἴαντὸν διαχρήσηται*] Lit., “will use himself up,” i. e. “will kill himself,” “commit suicide.” — *τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίας*] “honor in your eyes.” Observe that *πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, by being placed between the article and its noun, acquires an attributive meaning (lit., “the *before-you* honor”). K. § 244. 10. — *οὐρός*] Ctesiphon. — *κατατέτμηκε*] “has cut in pieces,” “hacked.” Alluding to the blows on the head which he says Demosthenes had received at different times, and had been satisfied with merely the pecuniary satisfaction obtained by an appeal to law. See § 51. These repeated allusions to the brutal assaults of Meidias and others upon Demosthenes are exceedingly ungentlemanly, not to say mean. There is nothing in the reply of Demosthenes which approaches them in scurrility. — *οὐ κεφαλήν, ἀλλὰ πρόσοδον*] “not a head, but a revenue,” i. e. it served him as a revenue rather than as a head.

214. *ἐμπληξίαν*] “Dicitur de iis, qui tonitru tanguntur. Hinc tropice de iis, qui non sunt sanæ mentis.” Bremi. — *κατεγνωκότας ἀλλήλων ἀδικεῖν*] “having condemned each other for crime.”

215. *ἀνοίσειν ἐπ' ἐμέ*] That is, will make use of his connection with them against him.

216. *ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . διαβάλλει*] See Dem. de Coron., § 307, seq. — *ἐνδεικνύμενος . . . ἔχθραν*] “displaying myself to Alexander on account of his (Alexander’s) enmity to him (Demosthenes).” Demosthenes does not, as I recollect, formally make this charge in any place.

217. *τὸ κεφάλαιον*] “summam et scopum rationis

civilis." Bremi. Much stress, and with great justice, is laid upon this point by Demosthenes. He asks why, now that the evil is all done, he comes with his sweeping charges, and did not object to his measures when they were proposed. This thought, besides being alluded to in several other places, runs through all that portion (perhaps the most masterly part) of the speech from § 188 to § 210.

218. Σὺ δ' κέκραγας] "Whereas you, I opine, are silent when you have received, but clamor having spent," i. e. his public speaking was prompted, not by love of his country, but by the hope of securing a bribe by it. See the turn which Demosthenes gives this, De Coron., § 82.

219. ἔτι Φιλίππου, κ. τ. λ.] See § 12, note. — οὐπω σοῦ, κ. τ. λ.] See § 77, note.

220. καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν δημοκρατίας] "and taking this maxim, not from a democracy, but from a different civil polity (i. e. an oligarchy), you think to escape our observation." How this principle belongs to oligarchies, he proceeds to show in what follows. — κατηγορεῖ] "brings accusations." I retain the MS. reading in preference to the conjecture of Becker, δημηγορεῖ, because, although speaking of harangues before the people, still it is rather as *accusations* than in a general sense that they are referred to. — διὰ χρόνου] "after a length of time," i. e. "occasionally." — σημεῖον ἔστιν πολιτευομένου] "is a sign of a man engaging in public duties out of regard to the occasions and advantage of his country."

221. Υπὲρ δὲ, κ. τ. λ.] Demosthenes often alludes to the fact, that Aeschines had never brought him to trial for any of the misdeeds which he now charges upon him. See De Coron., §§ 15, 251, *et al.* — Τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ἀμφισσέας καὶ τὰ περὶ, κ. τ. λ.] The charges here referred to have been discussed at length in the previous parts of the oration, but I am not aware that there is any account of Aeschines having brought Demosthenes to trial for them in any other author.

222. *τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς τριήρεις, κ. τ. λ.]* Reference is here made to the reform of the Trierarchy by Demosthenes, while superintendent of the navy, which he (De Coron., §§ 102–109) boasts of as a great improvement, and as having been carried through with integrity, when he might have received any sum as a bribe for desisting; while Æschines here claims to have convicted him of having by his arrangement, in collusion with the trierarchs, diminished their number sixty-five, and taken hush-money (*ἀρπάγματα*) for it. Demosthenes (De Coron., § 103) alludes to a prosecution which grew out of the case, and (§ 312) accuses Æschines of having received a talent from those interested in defeating his measure for his services in the cause. In alluding to these conflicting representations of the case, Boeckh (Pub. Econ. Ath., p. 574) says,—“Which shall posterity believe, when it wishes to form a judgment from the accounts of deceitful orators? It appears to me that the statement of Demosthenes is defended by the fact itself, and the general opinion concerning his whole public life.” —*τὴν ἐν . . . ἐνίκησαν]* “De re vide Diodor. Sic. XV. 34.” Bremi.

223. *Οὗτοι δὲ ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνέφραξας, κ. τ. λ.]* “Sensus est: Quum tibi poena metuenda sit, tu partibus mutatis, accusas eos, qui te in judicium produxerunt, ita ut, quamvis ipsi sint insolentes, ob calliditatem tuam et perfidiam in maximo discrimine versentur, tu autem quasi innoxius evades.” Bremi.

224. *τὴν Ἀναξίνον . . . κατεσκεύασας]* “did you not get up the seizure of Anaxinus?” That is, in order to escape the *εἰσαγγελία* with which he was threatened. This Anaxinus was taken as a spy in concert with Æschines (see Dem. de Coron., § 137), and, as it would seem, was condemned to death for the offence. What is here said about his having been brought to trial by Demosthenes, who had previously been his friend, is nothing to the discredit of Demos-

thenes, if he was now in the service of the enemies of his country. Anaxinus seems to have visited Macedonia under the pretence of carrying wares to Olympias, the wife of Philip, where he entered into arrangements with Philip to act as a spy at Athens.—*τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἀλασ]* Lit. “the salt of the city,” i. e., as to have eaten salt together was the sign of friendship and of sacred obligations to each other, “the duty owed to the city,” “fidelity to the city.”

225. *Ἐπειτα ἐπερωτᾶν με, κ. τ. λ.]* The language here is so entirely like that employed by Demosthenes (De Coron., § 243), that there can be little doubt that this, with many other passages, especially in this latter part of the oration, were added by Aeschines after the reply of Demosthenes had been made.—*ἔνταρα]* “offerings made to the dead on the ninth day after the funeral.” For the funeral services among the Greeks, see Becker’s Charicles, p. 286.

226. *τοὺς συκοφαντηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας]* “qui per calumnias a rerum publicarum administratione depulsi sunt. Demosthenes περὶ Στεφ., p. 273, jungit eadem, ni fallor, significatione ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν.” Bremi.

227. *ἐνταῦθ’ ἐνέστην, κ. τ. λ.]* This defence of himself in allowing Demosthenes to go on in a course of pernicious acts, which, years afterwards, he called him to account for, (viz., that he and others were driven from a participation in public affairs by his quarrelsome habits,) is certainly a very lame one, but shows the reluctance which was felt at encountering Demosthenes.

228. *Δν ἔγώ μάλιστα]* “Hæc verba, ob duplēm attractionem obscuriora, in hunc modum resolvās: *τούτων ἀ ἔγώ πυνθάνομαι Δημοσθένην λέξειν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀγανακτῷ μάλιστα.* V. C. F. R.” Bremi.—*τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας]* Governed by *τὸ ἔργον* (“not to be able to prove the reality of the accusation”).

229. *καὶ τὴν φύσιν]* “and envying the nature of

his opponents on this account," i. e. because they could speak so much better than he could. — ὡς διώκηκεν] "as if he had done them." — ἐξ ὀνομάτων . . . περιέργων] "a man made up of words, and these bitter and over-wrought." "Contra has Æschinis criminationes defendit Demosthenem Dionysius Halicarn. περὶ τῆς λεκτικῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος c. 55." Bremi. — Οὐ τὴν γλῶτταν, κ. τ. λ.] "Demadis hic fertur jocus fuisse in Athenienses: Δημάδης τὸν Ἀθηναῖον εἴκαζεν αὐλοῖς, ὃν εἴ τις ἀφέλοι τὴν γλῶτταν, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδέν ἐστι. Faceta sane comparatio! Quod si enim hoc tempore Athenienses erant satis loquentes diserti, plerumque etiam gloriosi, in agendo tamen inertissimi et languore suo et desidia nimium quantum verborum vanitatem testabantur." Bremi. By *γλῶτταν* here is meant the *mouth-piece* of the flute, which was usually taken off when the instrument was not in use.

230. *γνώμη*] Meaning the same as *ψήφισμα*, as often. See § 3, note. — *ἐπιτήδειος*] "fit," "deserving." For the infin. following, see K. § 306. 1, c. — *εἰθῦναι βίου*] "censure morum." Reisk. If he was acquitted, all offenders must be. — *διὰ τὸ ἔνεικον . . . τὴν ἡμέραν*] "because this day has been devoted to foreign crowns," i. e. the day of the great Dionysiac festival. See §§ 47, 48.

231. *τῶν μετὰ . . . ἐπεισαγόντων*] "those immediately after this introducing their plays," i. e. after the proclamation of the crown of Demosthenes. *δράματα* is to be understood as the object of *ἐπεισαγόντων*. — *ποιήσειεν*] "should make," "represent." For the character of Thersites, see Hom. Il., II. 212, seq. — *ἐν ταῖς . . . δόξαις*] "in the thoughts or opinions of the Greeks," i. e. if not in words. — *ἀνετίθεσαν*] "attributed to." — *περιθεῖναι*] "to confer it upon," "devolve it upon." *ἀδοξίαν* is to be supplied from the previous clause.

232. *καλῶς ποιοῦντες*] Lit. "doing well," but it does not necessarily imply any merit of one's own, but the favor of fortune; hence, "by the favor of fortune," "by the blessing

of God." See Dem. de Coron., § 231; Olynth. II., § 27. Demosthenes (De Coron., § 207) reasons just the reverse of Aeschines here, that by condemning him they would condemn themselves.—*τὸ πάντων ἀτοπώτατον*] A preparatory acc. explained by what follows. See § 161, note.—*τοὺς μὲν . . . ἀλισκομένους*] "those convicted in the actions for bribery." The more common construction of *ἀλίσκεσθαι* is either with the gen. or part., and I do not find the construction with the acc. referred to in any of the grammars in common use, though it occurs, § 50, and is recognized in the Lexicon of Liddell and Scott.—*τοὺς μὲν . . . Διονυσίων*] "Eosdem intelligit, quos Demosthenes in Mid., p. 520, appellat *τοὺς κριτὰς τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν ἀνδρῶν*: qui judices sedebant certaminis, eumque coronabant, qui præstantissimus judicatus erat." Bremi.—*κυκλίους*] Commonly interpreted like *ἐγκύκλιοι*, "cyclic," "appointed for a regular period," "annual," but in Smith's Dict. Antiq., "circular," from the original practice of dancing *around* a blazing altar as they sang.

233. *αὐτὸς*] That is, the judge who has given his vote for one wrongfully.—*συμπαρακολούθων αὐτὸν λυπεῖ*] "Juris-jurandi violatio perpetua memoria, furiarum instar, conscientiam terret et vexat." Bremi.

234. *ἀμφότερα*] A preparatory acc. governed by the general idea of *doing* contained in the two following verbs. See § 232, note.—*κατορθοῦν . . . εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν*] "to be fortunate and yet to be in danger with regard to our civil polity." How this is he explains in what follows.—*φορὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ρήτορων*] "a harvest of orators in our time," i. e. a great number. See *φορά* in this sense, Dem. de Coron., § 61.—*τὸ δημόσιον*] "the democracy," "the democratic form of government."—*κολακευόμενος*] Agrees with *δῆμος* understood.

235. *ἔνιοι δὲ . . . ἐγένοντο*] "and these very ones were some of the Thirty," i. e. the Thirty Tyrants, who were estab-

lished in power at Athens by Lacedæmon, at the close of the Peloponnesian war, and who ruled as with a rod of iron. — ἐπέθετο] “set himself to,” “undertook.”

236. Τοῦ γὰρ . . . ἔχει] “for to have been the cause of our needing these repairs conveys a greater censure than the credit of their having been well made.” This appears to be the meaning of the passage, expressed somewhat more fully than in the text. — οὐδὲ . . . ἀνελόντα] “nor even in violating the public sepulchres.” When the walls of Athens were built, under Themistocles, such was the urgency, for fear of the interference of the Lacedæmonians to prevent their being reared, that all the inhabitants, of all classes, were set to work upon them, and directed to urge them forward without regard to any place, whether sacred or profane; so that they were said to be built of altars and sepulchres. See Cornel. Nepos, Themist., c. VI. In repairing the walls, therefore, there would necessarily be a disturbance of the public sepulchres.

237. ἄψαι τῶν ἔργων] “seize upon (come to) the realities or facts.” See § 101. — τὰς αἰτίας] “the causes.” See § 137. — τὸ τῆς πολεως . . . περιτίθεις] “ascribing the dignity of the city to Demosthenes,” i. e. the dignity and authority which he had as an ambassador of the city to Thebes, and which enabled him to succeed in his mission. He seems determined to strip Demosthenes of the honor universally accorded to him for his success on this mission.

239. Οὗτος] That is, the king of Persia, when pressed by Alexander. His situation, he says, led him, even against his declaration, to make the offer, for the sake of securing allies, just as the situation of the Thebans led them to accept the alliance of Athens. — τὰ δ' ἐβδομήκοντα . . . ὑποσιωπᾶς] “Hæc omnia non nisi ex adversariis Demosthenis cognita habemus, ut incertum sit, num fidem ullam mereantur. Ipsa certe narratio est tenebricosa.” Bremi.

240. ἔνεκα πέντε . . . παρέδοσαν;] “did not the mer-

cenary soldiers deliver up the citadel to the Thebans for five talents?" That is, as Wolf supposes, the Cadmeia, probably upon the occasion referred to below, when they were to be assisted by the Arcadians in throwing off the Macedonian yoke. The idea intended to be conveyed both by this and the following case is, that they required a much smaller bribe than Demosthenes did. — *καὶ ταῖς ἡδονᾶις . . . χορηγεῖσ] "and you gratify your appetites."* For this sense of *ἡδονᾶι*, see Xen. Mem., I. 2. 23, Kühner's note.

241. *βαρύτερον . . . γίγνεται]* "what is heard becomes more intolerable than the actual evils which you have suffered." Demosthenes was aware of the difficulty and delicacy of the task of defending himself, and anticipates the objection on this score in the introduction to his speech.

242. *τῆς ἀναισχύντον πραγματείας]* "the shameless business," i. e. of calling on Demosthenes to assist him in the defence. He thinks it would be altogether better for Ctesiphon to make his own defence. See § 200, seq. — *ὑπέμεινας . . . τελευτῆ]* "having allowed yourself as an ambassador . . . to be chosen to express sympathy," &c. This daughter of Philip had married Alexander, king of the Molossians, in Epirus, who was slain in Italy (B. C. 331), in assisting the Tarentines against the Brutti. — *μισθοῦ]* "for pay," i. e. from Demosthenes. It is gen. of price.

243. *οἷος μὴ . . . πεπονθότων]* "such as not to be known by those who have been benefited by him." For the infin. after *οἷος*, see K. § 306. 1, c. The negative is *μὴ*, and not *οὐ*, because it is merely a supposed case. K. § 318. 3. — *μόραν]* "a division." This was the war called the Corinthian (B. C. 394). — *διὰ τὸν . . . Κέρκυραν]* "on account of that circuitous voyage to Corcyra." He went first to Thrace after vessels, and then south, round the Peloponnesus, to Corcyra, which he subjugated to Athens, B. C. 376 (the same year as the battle of Naxos), in what was called the Boeotian war.

244. ἀντεροῦ] “ask in turn.” — σχετλιάζοντας] “complaining bitterly,” “deeply distressed.” — χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος] “apart from the body.” As though it were foreign to the body and an enemy to it.

245. τὴν πανυστάτην ἔξοδον] “Intelligit fatalem illam expeditionem, quae clade Chæronensi finita est.” Bremi. — τὴν δὲ μνήμην ἐπιλείπουσαν] “while (δὲ) there is no grateful remembrance of them.”

246. παιδεύει] “instructs,” i. e. goes through the forms of instruction, and hence “attempts to instruct.” — ἀλλὰ τὸ . . . ὀνομάζεται] “but in this case certainly (ἥδη) to admonish is justly called to vex.”

248. τοὺς προκαταλαμβάνοντας . . . ὀνομάτων] “those preoccupying all the popular and generous-sounding names.” Such as are named in what follows. Such persons, he says, ought to be suspected of having a corresponding meanness of life. — ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ] *plerumque, sæpiissime*, or, according to some, *sæpe*, while ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ (which is found here in two MSS.) is *sæpiissime*. See Xen. Mem., I. 1. 10; also Jelf’s K. § 870, R. 4.

249. τὰς βεβαιώσεις τῶν κτημάτων] “ai βεβαιώσεις sunt pignora, quæ dari solebant in emendo et vendendo. Centessima enim pretii pars deponebatur in fidem, si lis exoriretur inter emtorem et venditorem. Hæc summa dicebatur ἀξιόχρεως. Hinc jubetur orator, qui publice velit coronari, provocare ad vitam fide dignam et laude, venditoris instar, qui fidem suam præstat. Ex eodem genere petitum est μὴ βεβαιοῦτε τοὺς ἐπαίνους, ne confirmate laudes.” Bremi.

251. παρανοίας ἑαλωκῶς] “convicted of folly or dotage.” Like a superannuated person. See § 156; also Xen. Mem., I. 2. 49. — τῶν δ’ . . . παρακεχώρηκεν] “while from the realities (i. e. in fact) you have retired for others,” i. e. they had given up to ambitious leaders every thing except the name of the democracy. — ἀλλ’ . . . νειμάμενοι] “but,

as if from a picnic, having distributed among yourselves what remains," i. e. of the public money, &c.

252. ἐκεῖθεν . . . θεωρήσατε] "behold the proof hence," i. e. from what follows.—Ἐγένετο τις] "there was one," i. e. formerly. It is supposed that the reference is to one Autolycus.—Ἐτερος δ'] Leocrates, who, after the battle of Chæroneia, fled in a cowardly manner to Rhodes, and on his return, eight years afterwards, was brought to trial, and barely escaped conviction by a tie vote.—μία] Understand ψῆφος.

253. ἀποπέμψετε] "send away," "rid the country of," i. e. as a *homo piacularis*. See § 131.—ώς . . . πλέοντα] "as a pirate of the public transactions, sailing through the constitution upon names," i. e. having undermined the democracy while professing great attachment to it, and concealing their true character, by a studious use of democratic terms. See § 248. Æschines is liable to the same charge of harshness of metaphor here, which he several times censures in Demosthenes.

254. Ἡμερῶν μὲν . . . συλλέγεσθαι] "Æschines significat consilium Amphictyonum et certamina Pythica eodem fere tempore habita esse : quod eo probilius est, quum Amphictyones præsiderent his ludis. Non tamen eodem mense singulis annis videntur locum habuisse, plerumque tamen mense Elaphebolione (Martio)." Bremi.

255. μὴ νέμετε, ἀλλὰ κρίνετε] "Idem est ac si dixisset νέμετε κρίνοντες, cum judicio tribuete, re pensitata, num honorem meritus sit is, qui eum appetit." Bremi.—ἐν ἡλικίᾳ] "in youth." When it was customary to engage in sporting and gymnastic exercises to invigorate and establish the constitution, which, however, he goes on to say, Demosthenes spent in studying tricks against the wealthy, or those having the estates (*τοὺς τὰς οὐσίας κεκτημένους*). Referring, perhaps, more particularly to the reform which Demosthenes afterwards made in the law of the Trierarchy (De Coron.,

§§ 102 – 109), which compelled the rich to perform their part of this public burden.

256. 'Αλλ' εἰς . . . ἀποβλέψαντες] This seems to refer back and respond to διαβλέψαντες εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, and hence requires that βουλεύσασθε should be supplied from that sentence. The exact correspondence of the two sentences, however, is disturbed by the long intervening parenthesis. — ἀποστῆσαι δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνας] That is, from Philip. — ἐκπλήξαι δὲ Θηβαίους δημηγορήσας] For the effect of the eloquence of Demosthenes upon the Thebans, see Plutarch's Life of Demosthenes. — Πειθώ] "Persuasion," personified. This is said because Demosthenes claimed to have accomplished such wonders by his eloquence.

257. ὑπολαμβάνετε ὁρᾶν] "imagine that you see." This summoning before them the worthies of the past, to sustain them in resisting the impudence of Demosthenes and his associates, is happily conceived, and executed in a manner worthy of a great orator.

258. τὰς θυγατέρας] "Duas reliquit filias, quae a populo, teste Plutarcho in Aristidis vita, dotem acceperunt ter mille drachmarum." Bremi. — "Αρθμιον] See Dem. Phil. III., § 43. — παρ' οὐδὲν μὲν ἡλθον ἀποκτεῖναι] "by nothing did they come from killing him," like the Latin: *minimum aberat, quin interficerent*, i. e. his punishment was equal to death.

260. ὁ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε, κ. τ. λ.] Demosthenes (De Coron., § 127) seizes upon these words, as furnishing, on account of their flippant, pretending character, a fit occasion for returning the ridicule which Æschines, in several places, has bestowed upon his language. — βεβοήθηκα] "I have come to your aid," i. e. of *virtue, knowledge, and education*. This close compares with that of the reply of Demosthenes very much as the oration, as a whole, compares with that. It is much more flippant and pretending, with much less real earnestness and solemnity.

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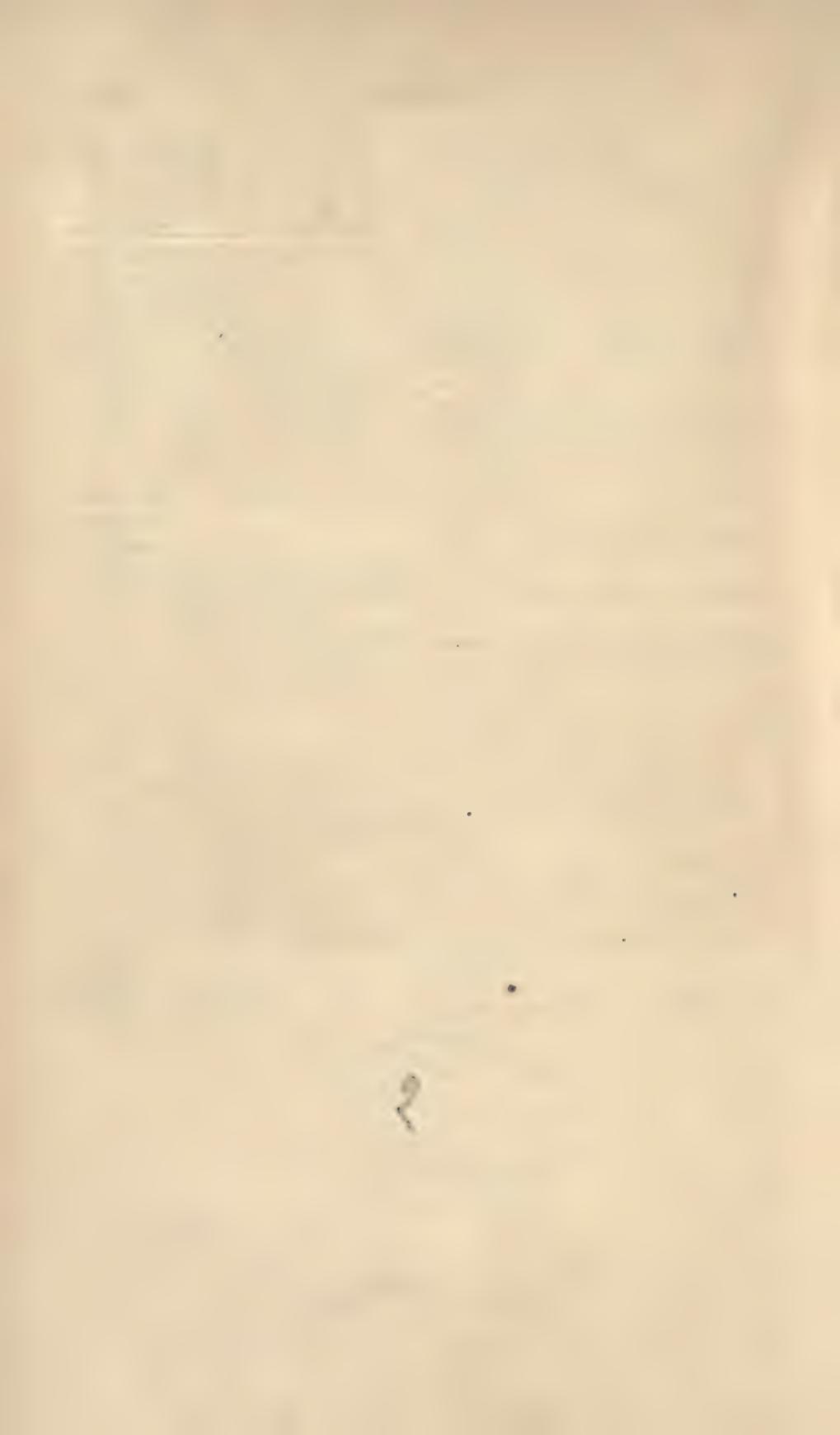
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